#### OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

#### EVIDENCE

GIVEN BEFORE THE

COMMITTEES

OF THE

PRIVY COUNCIL

AND

HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN SUPPORT OF THE

BILL FOR ABOLISHING

THE

SLAVE TRADE.

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A MONG the very numerous publications which have appeared on the subject of abolishing the Slave Trade, the most material of all—I mean, the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council—seems to be but little known or attended to. As every body has not an opportunity and sew may have leisure to peruse this voluminous work, I thought my time might not be misemployed in extracting and observing upon some of its A 2

most striking contents; and in thus endeavouring to draw the public attention from declamation and invective to the nature and substance of the evidence, which will, or at least ought to have the greatest influence on the final determination of the question.

My first design was to go through the evidence on both sides, and I had made such remarks as occurred to me on that given by Messes. Anderson, Barnes and Bowen. But I soon perceived that in observing upon the evidence on one side, it would be so often necessary to refer to the evidence on the other, that this double examination would be more tedious than useful. I have therefore chiefly confined

fined my remarks to the evidence given in *support* of the Abolition Bill, although parts of the evidence against the Bill are occasionally introduced.

I have avoided as much as posfible entering into any general reafoning upon the humanity, policy, or practicability of the measure; my intention being to consider, not what has been faid, but what is proved; and upon what facts the Legislature is now called upon to abolish a trade, which has long been encouraged as advantageous to individuals, and of great importance to the Naval Power of the Kingdom,

# I N D E X

# Bill, although the ordence

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#### OBSERVATIONS, &c.

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own knowledge or report.

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OBSERVATIONS upon the evidence given for or against the abolition of the Slave Trade must arise out of some of the following confiderations:

Whether the facts related or the opinions offered by the witnesses are consistent with the local circumstances of Africa, such as soil, climate, extent, &c. and the general customs and dispositions of the inhabitants; as the same are described by former writers, or are agreed to be at this day,

Whether the witnesses had all or any of the proper means of information, such as know-ledge of the language, length of residence,

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leifure to make inquiries, and any interest to avoid imposition.

Whether the witnesses speak from their own knowledge or report.

Whether the witnesses have any pecuniary or other interest, which may be reasonably supposed to bias their minds so far as to be themselves deceived, or to wish to deceive others.

Upon this last head it may be proper to obferve once for all—that, though in our courts of justice no interested witness (however inconsiderable his interest may be) is competent to be examined, yet this rule certainly does not extend to the legislative proceedings of either House of Parliament; where scarce any important bills (new tax bills excepted) ever pass without some examinations of witnesses materially and notoriously interested; indeed, if any of the persons, who have been examined by the Privy Council, or at the bar of the House of Commons, against the abolition of the Slave Trade, are to be considered as witnesses not credible because they are some way. or other concerned in that trade, the proceeding has been as idle as the inference would be unjust; it would be hearing people merely for the

the purpose of throwing a flur upon their characters, and pronouncing that every man fo circumstanced came prepared to support his interest (be it more or less) by premeditated falsehood or misrepresentation. Mr. Wilberforce in observing upon this kind of evidence, fays, \*- " I mean not to suspect their credibi-" lity with respect to any thing they see or " hear, or themselves personally know, &c. " but + I will not believe the mere opinions " of African traders concerning the nature " and consequences of the Slave Trade:"this rule feems fair and reasonable as to witnesses openly, avowedly, and accidentally interested in the abolition bill : but it seems too liberal with respect to the testimony of any witnesses who may have been engaged by money or any reward or promife to procure and give evidence either for or against the Bill. Such a witness cannot be rejected; but it is to be remembered that he became interested intentionally, fecretly, and for the purpose of supporting one fide of the question. A man thus employed naturally wishes to earn and increase his reward; he has probably seen and in a grain again of well are proved to

<sup>\*</sup> See his speech, p. 9. + Ibid. p. 11.

B 2 heard

heard and speaks with a view to the display of his own merit and the fatisfaction of his employers; from fuch a man the whole truth and nothing but the truth is not to be expected. I scruple not to avow a suspicion that witnesses fo circumstanced have been and may be again produced. It is therefore to be hoped that the gentlemen of the House of Commons will inquire into the characters of the witnesses on both fides, their motives for appearing, their fituations and prospects in life. Besides, (exclusive of pecuniary interest) in great popular questions like this, there are other passions which may give as strong a bias to men's minds as the defire of continuing a profitable trade, a subject of the first segren class lender

I will add one more general observation, viz. That the government, manners, customs, and mode of trade being very different in different parts of Africa, care must be taken not to apply facts or opinions indiscriminately to all, which are only true of particular districts.

An alphabetical arrangement of the witnesses was thought to be more convenient to the readers, in case any of them should think it worth while to recur to these observations in

. il would entries upon

the course of any future examination or de-

#### EVIDENCE FOR THE BILL.

# Mr. JAMES ARNOLD

Made three voyages to Guinea, as surgeon or surgeon's mate. The first with Captain Mactaggart, of which he says but little. His two last voyages were made in 1786 and 1787 with Capt. Williams. Mr. Clarkson produced him to the Privy Council, where he delivered two written accounts of his two last voyages; that of 1787 is in a copy of an affidavit.

Obs. 1. Voluntary affidavits and evidence in writing ought always to be very closely scrutinized: because they are seldom made to disclose the whole truth, but with a view to support one side of a question. The party has sull opportunity to state his evidence in his own manner; he may suppress the whole or any part of the fact within his knowledge; or he may relate it in expressions calculated to mislead the opinion of the reader.

2. Mr. Clarkson appears upon this occasion to have acted as solicitor and agent for the abolition bill. It will therefore be perfectly regular

10

gular to question Mr. Arnold as to his acquaintance and conversations with Mr. Clarkson upon the fubject.

3. Mr. Arnold's motive for choosing to give his evidence in the form of an affidavit and for his great expedition in doing fo should be inquired into. For it is remarkable that Mr. Arnold, who arrived in King's Road only on the 23d of August 1788, should have been able to prepare an affidavit of many sheets and fwear it at Symond's Inn fo foon as the 5th of September following.

These observations go to the whole of Mr. Arnold's evidence. I now proceed to examine fome particular parts of it.

First Voyage. The ship failed from Bristol in August 1786. arrived at Bimbe, off the Cameroon's River, in September, and took on board 101 flaves, without any thing materially happening till the 1st of November. "In that night the " chief mate hearing a noise among the ne-" groes, went down with a lantern : the flaves " thinking he came to flog them (as he often " used to do) seized him with intent to kill " him, but he extricated himself after receiving " a flight wound on his back with a shackle-" bolt :

" bolt: the flaves disappointed in their re-

" venge on the mate, proceeded to extremities

" and began forcing the grating." "

Obs. Mr. Arnold thus far evidently represents the affair as merely accidental. But he afterwards states some circumstances which clearly shew that an insurrection was intended; for three of the slaves had got off their irons, some had armed themselves with knives, and the shackle-bolt with which they wounded the mate should not have been in their possession.

"The crew subdued the slaves by firing on them. In the morning, one slave came up from the hold with a knife in his hand, and was immediately shot, another was be headed and thrown into the sea, a third received a fracture in his skull in a scuffle with one of the sailors, and was suffered to linger three days upon the deck in a state of stupe- faction."

<sup>\*</sup> The passages marked with double commas are given as extracts from the Report of the Committee of Council. They are faithful in substance; but to have always transcribed them literally would have very considerably increased the size of this pamphlet. The author is consident his observations will lose nothing of their force by being compared with the Report itself.

Obf. It would have been more humane to have beheaded this man too; but his death was certainly meant (perhaps not imprudently) so an example, and care was taken to throw the body overboard in fight of all the flaves.

"A boy who had been fhot in the thigh,
"was also thrown overboard whilst living."

Obs. This was certainly unjustifiable; tho' Mr. Arnold seems to speak somewhat boldly, when he says that "he might have been easily "cured by amputation," especially as he admits that "the thigh bone was shattered to "pieces."

With respect to the seamen, Mr. Arnold states, "that the Captain put them upon short "allowance when there was no occasion, thus "making them, out of mere barbarity of distribution, suffer samine in the midst of plenty: "that he allowed no wine for the sick: and "that it would be tedious to enumerate the "many instances of wanton barbarity exerci"fed on the crew."

Obf. Mr. Arnold (being questioned by the Privy Council) acknowledged, 1st, that only one of the crew, consisting of eighteen, died, whose disease was a sever; 2dly, that no presecution had been commenced against the cap-

tain for ill usage in this voyage; 3dly, Mr. Arnold, within a few months after his return home, sailed again with this very Captain Williams.

Second voyage (upon affidavit.)

"When the veffel got under weigh, Mr. A.

" being called upon to fign the articles, de-

" fired to read them first; the Captain refused,

" telling Mr. A. that if he would not fign he

" might go on shore. Mr. A.'s situation was

" fuch at that time, that he figned."

Q. What situation could induce Mr. A. blindly to sign articles of obedience to Capt. Williams after his barbarity of the preceding year?

What are now Mr. A.'s fituation and profpects in life, which have enabled him to refuse making a fourth voyage?

Mr. A. swears "that he himself experienced "fuch inexpressible hardships, that if he had "been so fortunate as to have taken a dog "with him from England, he should have "killed it to have satisfied his hunger." And he farther swears, "that whatever he has de-"scribed to be the scene (as far as relates to "provisions) in this second voyage, the same

" was to be found in the first voyage."

Obs. As Mr. A. swears that his sufferings were the same in 1786 as in 1787, why did he so soon venture upon a second voyage with Capt. Williams? Did Mr. A. offer his services to any other captain? Did he take it for granted, that all the captains in this trade are alike? Or did he prefer sailing with Capt. Williams because he was one of the worst?

Mr. A. swears, "that the boat's crew has "often lain in their boat alongside of other "ships for twelve hours without a morsel of provisions entering their lips, and on their return to their own ship have perhaps had nothing to eat."

Q. Was Mr. A. in the boat with the crew? Does Mr. A. think himself warranted in swearing to a "perhaps?" This is a mere infinuation of a fact, which perhaps never happened. Mr. A. should have sworn either to the fact, or that he had received information of the fact, and believed it to be true.

Mr. A. fwears, "that two men, who were "nearly recovered of fevers, relapfed and died for want of proper diet, and by being put to "work too foon."

Obs. The opinion of a professional man given in evidence has more or less weight in pro-

proportion to the estimation he bears in his profession, and the apparent impartiality of his evidence.

Mr. A. fwears, "that on the 30th Oct. "1787, the Captain went forward in the night when one Wyat was on the watch, and finding him fitting down, charged him with fleeping on his watch, which Wyat denied. In the morning the Captain gave him a "dozen lashes."

Obs. I doubt if any good seaman will think with Mr. A. that this was an instance of cruelty, or that the punishment was unjustifiable.

Mr. A. fwears, "that on the 14th Dec. "1787, this same Wyat (whom Mr. A. de-"scribes to be a good young man, and parti-"cularly attentive to his duty) being sent down to pump brandy off for the traders, "drank a little himself, and gave some to three of his messmates, and they all became in-"toxicated. Two of them had a dozen lashes each; the Captain beat Wyat a good deal." The fourth man does not appear to have been punished at all.

Obs. In plain English, the men got drunk with stolen brandy. Was this punishment cruel or unjustifiable?

Mr.

wild.

Mr. A. indeed, swears, "that the men had "not tasted spirits for three months, and "therefore a little had the greater effect upon "them."

Obs. I leave it to my reader to decide upon the merit both of the excuse and the oath.

Mr. A. swears, "that on the 3d April 1788, "the Captain gave him several blows on ac"count of a quarrel between Mr. A. and the "Captain's cabbin boy."

Obs. It does not clearly appear that Mr. A. was right as to the quarrel; but the Captain was certainly to blame for treating one of his officers in the manner stated by Mr. A.

Mr. A. told the Privy Council, "a fuit was "commenced in the Admiralty Court against "Capt. Williams; but from the delay and expence, I thought it better to remove it to the Court of King's Bench, there I hope it "will be tried next term."

Obs. The King's Bench office has been fearched, and no trace of any such proceeding has been found.

It is remarkable that Mr. A. should have kept so methodical a journal of the Captain's behaviour, as to names, dates, and modes of severity; it looks as if Mr. A. went out with

an intention of making an affidavit when he came home. If that were the case, I should suspect that what Mr. A. pretends to give as specimens only, were in fact all the instances of ill treatment which happened during the voyage; and that what he swears in the conclusion of his affidavit, viz. that not a man on board escaped the Captain's fury, is rather matter of exaggeration than fact.

With respect to the flaves, and and the

Mr. Arnold swears that the first slave bought was a very intelligent girl about 15 years of age, who told Mr. Arnold that a goat had been found in her father's garden, which she said had been purposely put there; that the owner charged her father with having stolen the goat, and demanded one of his daughters as a fatisfaction, and that her father complied. About three months after this girl's sister was brought on board, but Mr. A. did not inquire how she became a slave.

Obs. 1. As Mr. A. states this story very minutely, I presume he has a competent know-ledge of the language.

2. In most parts of Africa, thest is punished by slavery, i. e. either the thief is sold himself, or produces a slave, or the price of a slave, in his stead.

3. It

3. It is not likely that this girl should know whether the goat was put into the garden by the owner, or stolen by her father: and as the sister was sold afterwards, it seems full as likely that the father was a practised thief, as that he was falsely accused.

Some flaves were brought on board for adultery and debt. But Mr. A. thinks "that the "custom of stealing slaves is much in force on the Cameroon's coast, because there were several boys on board who could not have been guilty of adultery or debts."

Obs. The boys might have been guilty of theft; besides Mr. A. might have learned from his own story of the girl, that children are sometimes sold for the crimes of their parents.

Mr. A. fwears, "that his opinion as to "flealing flaves was strengthened by Capt." Williams telling him, that people watch "in the long grass in Angola, and make slaves" of all who pass that way."

Obs. The distance from the River Cameroon to the nearest part of Angola is about 230 leagues. Unless Mr. A. therefore had been very willing to have his opinion strengthened, he would not have inferred that the

be necessarily the same.

Mr. A. swears, "that he is forry to be "obliged to confess that the Slave Trade at "the Cameroons is conducted upon a principle "of force."

Obs. This forrow is not quite confistent with a voluntary affidavit; especially as Mr. A. might have confined himself to facts, and was not obliged to confess any opinion as to the principle of the trade.

Capt. Williams had feized and confined a Cameroon trader, the blacks in return feized Capt. Williams and his ship, and released three pawns that were on board.

Mr. A. fwears, "that if they had not been "fo released, he verily believes Capt. Wil-"liams would have taken them to the West Indies."

Obs. This belief of Mr. A. shews nothing but his great desire to believe ill of Captain Williams.

Q. Did Capt. Williams ever take a pawn to the West Indies?

Did Capt. Williams ever declare any defign of taking away these particular pawns?

Did

Did the black traders ever fay that they did not intend to redeem them?

I fear my reader is by this time as weary of Mr. Arnold's affidavit, as I am. It is so grossly partial and inconsistent, that unless Mr. A. shall appear at the bar of the House to support and explain it, I scruple not to pronounce it unworthy of any credit. And nothing but blind zeal in a cause (which I will suppose him to believe a good one) and the not having been used to consider the precision required in wording depositions upon oath, can excuse Mr. Clarkson for having produced such a composition.

#### JOHN ASHLEY, Esq.

Owns a plantation in Jamaica which usually yielded 115 tierces of sugar. "Between "November 1783 and May 1784, he broke "up some fresh ground with the plough; and "the consequence was, that without any ad-"ditional negroes he made 235 tierces in "1785; but (he says) 1785 was a remarka-"bly sine yielding year."

Obs. The experience of a fingle year, and that a particularly fruitful year, affords little or no reason for preferring any one mode of cultivation to another.

Mr.

Mr. Ashley with two sets of oxen (eight in each set) working only from sun-rise to nine, and from three till dark, broke up an acre of land and put it in proper order for planting in a day and half. The same work would employ 40 negroes one day.

Obs. This was a considerable saving of labour and proves the advantage of the plough, where the soil and surface will admit it to be used. But Mr. A. " cannot say but there may be " parts in Jamaica too stony for the plough."

Mr. Ashley says, "fome parts of the island "are certainly too hilly; though he has been "told that in this country the farmers plough ground as steep as can well be conceived."

Obs. Steep ploughing is apt, even in this country, to wear out the cattle (horses especially) by making them blind or broken-winded: what then must be its effects in such a climate as the West Indies?

2. I understand that where sugar is planted in steep situations, if the ground were completely broken as with a plough, the violent rains would often wash away both plants and soil.

Mr. Ashley thinks, "that the stock of cat"tle necessary for grinding the cane, might
be employed between crop and crop in
D "plough-

" ploughing the land, without any addition or detriment to the flock."

Obs. Possibly this may be the case, where estates consist of plantations and pastures conveniently intermixed. But the pastures of some estates may be considerably distant from the plantations: and then I presume the cattle are hand sed during the crop, and sent out for the rest of the year to grass, so that it might take half a day's work to bring them up in the morning and drive them back again at night.

Mr. Ashley is of opinion, "that overseers have a prejudice against the use of the plough, from dislike to be driven out of the ancient mode of cultivation."

Obf. This is the constant language bestowed by those who attempt new modes of agriculture on those who resuse to adopt them; tho nothing less than the experience of many years can justify the reproach. It is highly meritorious in gentlemen to make such experiments; but farmers, who are to live by their business, and overseers whose credit and situation depend upon their success, do wisely in waiting for repeated proofs. In this country the improvements by land-draining, turnips and artificial grasses are now become pretty general; but

how many other modes of improvement have in the mean time been attempted, extolled, and forgotten!\*

The and of grandments Autimus, but if

\* Other witnesses have recommended the use of the plough. But as Mr. Ashley has spoken very fully and fairly to the point, I shall close the subject with the sollowing extracts from the Report of the Privy Council, part 3d, they will show the reader how far the plough has been introduced in the Islands, and what farther may be expected from it.

In JAMAICA—The plough is used upon a great many plantations and coming daily into more general use.

Committee of Council of the Island.

The plough is very commonly though not univerfally used in this Island.

Meffrs. Fuller, Long, and Chisholme, A. No. 42, 6, 7.

BARBADOES—The plough has been tried at different times and on feveral plantations, but in all it has been found necessary to relinquish it. In the hilly parts, where the soil is lightest, the surface is too rocky and uneven. The low-lands are so hardened during the dry season, that no plough-share could go through it; and in wet weather so deep that cattle could not work it.

Gov. Parry.—Council of the Island.— Mr. Brathwaite, A. No. 47.

ANTIGUA—The plough has been frequently tried and as often laid aside; in no one instance has it succeeded. Col. Martyn, who wrote a very useful work on the management of sugar plantations, carried a

D:

plough

The Statute Book of Jamaica abounds with proofs that the planters of that island are by

plough and ploughmen to Antigua, but after some years experience gave up the use of it.

Council of the Island.—Messrs. Hutchinson, and Burton, Dr. Adair, A. No. 42.

St. CHRISTOPHER—The plough has long been tried in various fituations, but in this Island it never can be useful. In the mountainous parts the plough cannot run; in the other parts the soil is so loose, that the plough would completely ruin it. Great care is necessary in planting upon any declivity, to make partitions between the holes to prevent the ill effects of washes from heavy rains.

GRENADA—Ploughs have been tried and laid afide, not answering the expectations of the planters. But this admits of further proof.

Gen. Matthew.

The plough has been tried and abandoned by some very zealous advocates for its introduction. It is now used only in a small part of one plantation.

Legislature of the Island, A. No. 42, 7.

Dominica—There is no land here fit for the plough.

Gov. Orde.

Two attempts have been made here with the plough, but it is now laid afide.

Mr. Laing, A. No. 42, 6, 7, St. VINCENT—The plough has been tried, but no where adopted. The furface of the Island is in general fo rugged that no great expectations are to be formed of it.

Gov. Seton, A. No. 42.

no means deficient in forwarding all promising improvements; for there is scarce one year, from 1770 to the present time, in which one or more Acts have not passed for encouraging the inventors of machines for the more easily cultivating and manufacturing of sugar.

#### The Rev. ISHAM BAGGS

Sailed twice with Commodore Thompson in the Grampus, in 1783 and 1785.

With respect to the natural produce. --

- "Mr. B. brought to England fome wild
- "cinnamon, which an apothecary told him
- " was perfectly good; fome black pepper, and
- " fome cotton fufficiently long for the manu-
- " facturer; and enumerates about a dozen
- " more articles of woods, gums, &c. and has
- " no doubt but the apothecary, botanist, and
- " fossilist might make very valuable acquisi-
- "tions in Africa." and non more against "

Obs. Bosman and Barbot about a century ago published a far more complete though not quite so flourishing an account of the productions of Africa; but they wrote only to give useful and impartial information; Mr. Baggs has obviously another object in view,

Obf. It does not appear that Mr. Baggs knows, or has inquired into the quantity, price, demand, or means of procuring any one of these productions; therefore, his opinion of them, as objects of commercial speculation can have no weight. Other witnesses speak to this point, whose business and interest it has been to investigate the subject with much more accuracy than Mr. Baggs has done, or could indeed have an opportunity of doing.

With respect to flaves, and find the

STA

Mr. Baggs fays, "he was present with "Commodore Thompson, at many confe"rences with the natives, touching the man"ner of obtaining slaves; but that he did not
"put any accounts of these conferences into
"writing; nor can he, for want of recollec"tion, relate the particulars."

nor can recollect the particulars, it may be proper to inquire, by what arguments he has been induced to fancy, that he could fay any thing

thing upon the subject, deserving to be called evidence.

But Mr. Baggs afferts, "That though he can only offer the general result of what he heard, yet that result may be looked upon to be as true, as if he was in possession of all the particulars which gradually operated in producing it."

Obs. This affertion is clearly inadmissible—it is faying, in other words, that all men must agree in drawing the same conclusions from the same premises.

However, the general refult remaining in Mr. Baggs's mind, is, "That the flaves, "confifting principally of criminals and prifomers of war, the kings strain every nerve to accuse and condemn, because they raise a "revenue on the sale; and that the wars are neither more nor less than public pillage or robbery, generally without provocation, and for no other purpose, than that of getting strains."

Obs. If Mr. B. means to speak of the whole Coast, from Senegal to Cape Negro, he is contradicted by many witnesses produced both for and against the bill. If he speaks of any particular districts, they should have been

specified, that his testimony might have been compared with that of others; but this shews the inconvenience of a general refult being received in evidence, it can neither be refuted nor confirmed.

Mr. Baggs fays, "It appeared, from the examination of the black traders, that it has " happened, that when the marauding parties " have come down with their captives to the " water's fide, there has been no fhip to take "them away; and that they have, on fuch " an occasion, killed them. The reason given was, that they would not be at the expence of maintaining them, and that they were " unwilling to fend them back. These murders, in the opinion of Mr. Baggs, are all chargeable to the Slave Trade."

Obs. 1. Mr. Newton, speaking of the natives, fays, "The people are like European "travellers, and tell fuch wonderful stories, " there is no depending upon them." people may think this a fufficient answer to Mr. Baggs's charge of constructive murder.

2. But it feems to me, that Mr. B. in his great eagerness to fix this charge on the Slave Trade, has done the Trade more service than he is aware of; for if fuch kidnapped flaves have

have been in fact put to death, for the reasons given; Iask, what would become of criminals and prisoners of war fairly taken, if there were no ships to take them off? As the expence of maintaining them, and the imprudence of fetting them at large, must be at least the same, the obvious inference is, that they would meet with the same fate: upon which supposition, it will hardly be denied, that the Slave Trade must fave many more than it destroys.

Mr. B. has faid, his information came from natives only.

Obs. Does Mr. Baggs know the language fufficiently to state the distinctions between true and false accusations, public and private wars, just and unjust provocation?

Is Mr. B. fure that his black informers understood him, or that he understood them?

Can Mr. B. be fure that his informers did not wish to mislead him, or that they did not perceive from the questions, what answers they were expected to make?

Mr. Baggs fays, "Great distinctions are " made in crimes, that more may fuffer; for " capital and state crimes, both the criminal " and his innocent family are condemned to

" flavery."

Obf. I doubt, if there be any state, civilized or savage, in which, for certain crimes, the family is not involved in the punishment of the offender, either by the loss of liberty, property, or honour. This policy, therefore, (whether just and unjust) not being confined to Africa, cannot be fairly charged on the Slave Trade.

With respect to the failors,

Mr. Baggs fays, "That every species of cruelty, that the human imagination can devise, is exercised upon the failors—that the service is of such a nature, that the human frame is incapable of sustaining it long —that ill usage, bad living, and scanty diet operate as another cause."

Obs. 1. All this may be true; but as it does not appear, that Mr. Baggs ever faw any inflances of ill usage; or, indeed, that he was ever on board a flave ship in his life, it may be worth inquiring, upon what authority he gives this account.

1. That authority, by Mr. Baggs's own statement is, "That he was told so by one sailor "who ran away from a Guinea ship, to the Grampus; and by some others, who were sent on board as pirates, and who (without de-

"denying their piracy) alledged ill-treatment as the cause of their misbehaviour."

3. It may seem strange, that such evidence, grounded upon such information, (the report of one run-away sailor and some pirates) should be either offered or received; but whoever turns to the report, will find, that I have been guilty of no misrepresentation.

With respect to the West Indies,—Mr. Baggs says, his observations lay chiefly in Barbadoes, where he has certainly seen instances of treatment, which shocked him much.

1. Mr. B. has feen worn-out flaves turned off, to beg in the streets, and get their living as they could.

Obs. One may reasonably hope, that this grievance is now at an end. Laws were passed in St. Vincent, A. D. 1767—in Barbadoes, A. D. 1785—in Jamaica and Dominica, A. D. 1788, for this purpose; they lay considerable penalties upon any owner neglecting to provide for any old or infirm slave.\* In Montserrat this neglect has long been held an indictable offence. In Antigua Dr. Adair ne-

<sup>\*</sup> See the Slave Laws for these Islands, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 3.

ver knew but one instance, and then the magistrate interposed, and the slave was relieved. In St. Christopher, Nevis, and Grenada, there is not yet any law to this effect; but it cannot be reasonably doubted, but the Assemblies of those islands will feel themselves obliged to imitate the rest.

Mr. Baggs has also "feen pregnant women, "who appeared to be just ready to tumble to pieces, whipped by the drivers, to make them keep up with the rest, with the fame "feverity as the men."

Obs. All Mr. B.'s evidence is indefinite.

- 1. The general expression, "women," may be taken of any number, from 2 to 20, or 200.
- 2. The severity is spoken of comparatively; the description may be applied (as it may suit his reader's imagination) to the slightest stroke, or the most bloody lashing.
- 3. The appearances of pregnancy are very different in different women.

Mr. Baggs concludes, by faying, "That he is firmly of opinion from his knowledge of the Africans, in their own country, as well as in the Colonies, that the planters could do without fresh supplies, if they chose; and

" and that the Slave Trade is totally unne-

Obs. This opinion is sufficiently pointed, peremptory and comprehensive, but can determine nothing, till the quantum of Mr. Baggs's knowledge of the Africans is better ascertained.

### Mr. BOTHAM

Has been in most of the islands, except Jamaica, and has conducted some sugar works at Bencoolen, in the same manner as the Dutch cultivate sugar in Java.

Mr. Botham's evidence tends to prove, 1. That sugar can be raised cheaper by freemen, than slaves. 2. That the culture of the cane in the islands is in its first and unimproved state, and may be considerably changed for the better.

Mr. Botham fays, "That in Java the ow"ner lets his fugar estate to a superintendant,

" who resides on it, and parcels it out to dif-

" ferent sets of taskmen, who undertake, for

" different parts of the work, at a fixed price, and find tools and cattle. The price of

" common labour is, from 9d. to 10d. per

politica and uniform, then the content

" day."

Obs. The free negroes in all the islands do not amount to 8000; therefore, to introduce this

this practice there, the flaves must first be converted into free taskmen by emancipation, which is not at present thought expedient; and secondly, they must be prevailed upon to submit to continual and daily labour, which (to use the language of the Council of Barbadoes) may well be said to be impossible.\*

Mr. Botham fays, "The lands in the East "are well ploughed with a light plough, and "a single buffalo."

Obs. Then there must be the greatest possible difference between the soil of the East and West Indies; for Mr. Ashley (a strong advocate for the use of the plough) never ploughed but with two sets of oxen in the day; one set worked only from sun-rise till nine o'clock, and the other from three o'clock till dark; and each set consisted of eight oxen, or six oxen and two horses.

Mr. Botham describes an instrument for earthing up the canes; "it is used by two persons together, who will thus earth up

<sup>\*</sup> See Priv. Co. Rep. Part 3. tit. Barbadoes A. No. 37, 38, and to each island. Nothing can be more pointed and uniform, than the evidence of the profit-gacy and settled aversion from labour, which prevail among the free negroes.

<sup>\*</sup> Ante p. 17.

" more canes in a day, than ten negroes with

Obf. If this instrument has not already been tried, it may be well worth while to make an experiment with it; though wheelbarrows, spades, three-wheeled carts, and other European implements of husbandry, have been tried and laid aside; the negroes being very dextrous in the use of the hoe, the bill, and basket, and preferring them to any other implements.\*

Mr. Botham fays, "The planters should give more labour to beast, and less to man."

Obs. The evidence sent from the several islands (Priv. Co. Rep. Part 3. Let. A. No. 40, 41.) prove that this is in fact done; that animal is always, and as far as possible, substituted to human labour; and that the breeding of cattle, and planting Guinea grafs, are now the most common speculations and improvements in the islands, particularly in Jamaica. It does not appear, that Mr. B. has been in the West Indies since 1774, and sistem years may well be supposed to have produced some improvements.

<sup>\*</sup> See Priv. Co. Rep. Part 3, tit. Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Christopher, A. No. 42.

Mr. Botham says, "The sugar estates in Ja"va never distill. The molasses are sold to,
"large distilleries, which should also be the
"practice in the West Indies, as many sepa"rate stills occasion an infinity of labour."

Obs. All great works, provided they are well regulated, save some labour, in proportion to their extent; but as the labour in the still-house is not particularly severe upon the slaves, there seems to be no sufficient reason for obliging the planter (whose buildings, utensils, and stock are supposed to be already prepared, and sit for this purpose) to transfer his profit upon making rum to a professed distiller.

Mr. Botham concludes, by observing, "that the miserable management of the West In"dies, ought to be changed for that of the
"East; culture improved, human labour lesses fened, and the progeny of the present slaves will be fully able to work the West India
"estates."

Obs. 1. Most cultivators are apt to censure all modes of cultivation but their own, and therefore, such general censure goes for little or nothing, except with people who are either uninformed or indifferent to the subject. I

own,

own, one West India estate entrusted to Mr. Botham's management, would have more weight with me, than any argument or eulogium in favour of the Java system.

2. The Codrington estate, in Barbadoes, is destined to the propagating of the gospel, and we have been told, that the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the kind treatment which must necessarily sollow, will mend the morals of the slaves, and of course dispose them better to religion.\* The trustees, therefore, could not better fulfill the purposes of their trust, than by making Mr. Botham their superintendant. By his new mode of management, the negroes of this estate will be immediately relieved from much of their present labour, and (should the experiment succeed) that relief must become general in the islands.

#### The Rev. THOMAS CLARKSON

The Are with the manufactors and a side of

produced specimens of indigo, rice, cotton, malaguetta, cayenne, long and black pepper;

other (amule tells for between the and ch.

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Wilberforce's speech, p. 28.

Clarkson's Impolicy of the Slave Trade, p.

tulip wood, yellow wood, musk, gum-copal, senega and rub. astringens, mahogany, and cotton cloths.

Obs. Of these articles Mr. C. knew no more than that they came from Africa.

Mr. Clarkson produced also some cotton from Senegal and Gambia, and some black pepper from Whydah.

The committee of the privy council sent the Senegal cotton to Mr. Hilton, delegate from the Manchester fustian makers, who reported it to be superior to the Brasil, and nearly equal to the East-Indian cotton.

The yellow dying wood was sent to the secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. who reported, "that there is every reason to believe that it may prove of considerable utility to the Dyers, if it can be imported at such a price as will enable the workmen to make use of it."

The cabinet woods were fent to Messis. Haig and Chippendale, who reported, That one sample was Camwood, which has been imported for many years for the Dyers: the other sample sells for between 41. and 51. per cent. and a trifling ship's cargo of it would last this town 20 or 30 years.

Obs. 1. This part of Mr. Clarkson's evidence turns out to be neither very novel nor important: but what is here stated in a few lines, occupies near a dozen pages in the essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade: so great is the difference between the appearance of the same facts, when reduced to evidence, or dilated according to the best received rules of pamphleteering.

The yellow dying wood may be as useful as fustic, if it can be got as cheap.

The Senegal cotton (I apprehend) we are precluded from trading for, by the last treaty of peace.\*

The other articles have been long known to be the produce of Africa, and Mr. C. tells us nothing further. The particular spots where they are easiest to be found and procured, together with the circumstances of quantity, price, and demand, he leaves us to collect from other witnesses.

With respect to the loss of seamen, Mr. Clarkson states,—that the annual average loss by death, amounts to between a fifth and

<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps it may be easy to procure plants from Senegal; still this is one difficulty more; besides, the superior quality of the Senegal cotton may be owing to the soil.

drauk

fourth of the number employed, or eight in every slave ship.

To prove this estimate, Mr. C. delivered in a paper, intitled, "Substance of the Muster Rolls of eighty-eight Liverpool Ships, and twenty-four Bristol Ships, returned in the year 1786, up to September, 1787." Mr. C. omitted the muster-rolls of the London slave ships, "because, from the multiplicity "of business, they are received upon trust, "whereas Mr. C. had been constantly informed "that the Bristol and Liverpool rolls are delivered in upon oath; and he did not "chuse to insert any account, the authenticity "of which might be questioned, as it might have materially injured the credit of the "rest."

Obs. 1. According to Mr. Clarkson's own opinion, the authenticity of the Liverpool muster-rolls may be questioned, and the credit of the rest materially injured; for it appears from an answer of the Comptroller of the customs at Liverpool, to the committee of the P. C. that the Liverpool muster-rolls are not delivered upon oath; those of Bristol are. I mean not to say they are to be therefore wholly rejected; but only to shew that Mr. Clarks

Clarkson contented himself with very loose, and (as it proves to be) false information, upon a point which he thought material, and which a single question to the Comptroller would have ascertained.

2. The following evidence feems to impeach in a confiderable degree the correctness of Mr. Carkson's muster-rolls and calculations.

William Oddie, secretary to the Corporation for the relief of seamen, examined by the committee of P. C. says, "that there should be a list of the number of sailors before the fhip clears inwards, delivered to him; but this is not always done. That he does not suppose the muster-rolls are very correct, because the captains tell him, that their sailors often leave their ships abroad, and then they are obliged to hire runners, who discappear as soon as they get their wages."

The Collector and Comptroller of the port of Bristol, informed the committee of P. C. "that they believe the muster-rolls to be generally correct as to the time when seamen enter, die, run away, or are discharged; but are generally desective as to the ship they "were in last."

The Collector and Comptroller of Liverpool inform the committee of P. C. " that
"there is reason to conclude the muster-rolls
"are correct, because, when seamen have ap"plied to the hospital, reference has been had
"to these rolls, and no mistake discovered."

N. B. This reason does not seem to be fatisfactory, because it may be supposed that the seamen are aware that their claim for relief will not be allowed unless they are upon the muster-roll; and therefore none but those who are to be found there have applied.

The Collectors and Comptrollers of Bristol and Liverpool sent up muster-rolls of sour African ships to the committee; whether with a view to contradict Mr. Clarkson's calculation, I know not, but they certainly do contradict it very materially, as appears by the following statement:

Ships.	No. of Crew.	Deaths and Cafualties.
Emilia	52	5
Africa	36	attacker of 3 and
Fisher	53	6
Bark	38	- 5
tyli dili	179	19

The

The loss here is little more than a ninth of the number employed, instead of between a fifth and fourth, as Mr. Clarkson states.

The only witnesses who have spoken precisely to the number and loss of seamen, are Messrs. Arnold, Falsonbridge, Knox, (at the bar of the H.C.) Penny, and Norris. Their account of nineteen voyages stands as sollows:

The Division Co.	Crew.	Deaths and Cafualties.
Arnold —	38	5
Falconbridge	126	19
Knox —	113	
Penny —	211	
Norris —	160	10
	648	65

A fingle glance at the figures shews the loss in these 19 voyages to have been, as near as possible, one tenth, instead of the fifth or fourth, estimated by Mr. Clarkson.

In Mr. Penny's account (which is in writing) it appears, that in the voyage of the ship, Madam Pookata, A. D. 1786, her crew was 20, and her loss 2. In Mr. Clarkson's list this same ship is entered twice, consequently that list must comprehend her

voyage of 1786, and there her crew is stated at 20 (as by Mr. Penny) but the loss 3 in-stead of 2, here then is clearly an error; in which list I pretend not to determine.

Obs. This variance, minute as it may seem, may be of material consequence; for either Mr. Penny's account is not truly copied; or Mr. Clarkson's muster-rolls are not truly copied; or the lists made out by the officer of the ship for the Comptroller of the customs and his Owner, are not counterparts; and upon either of the two last suppositions, the authority of Mr. Clarkson's muster-rolls falls at once, and they cannot be admitted as data for any calculation.

#### Mr. CLARKSON's Evidence continued.

To this supposed loss of eight in every crew by death, Mr. Clarkson adds another loss of four in every crew, that number being lest annually in the West Indies. For proof of this Mr. C. refers to his "Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade," where he says, "We shall see that he has endeavoured to "find out every avenue to make them escape; "but that notwithstanding this, four in every

erew must either perish there, or be left behind: the amount of which loss in 1786

was no lefs than 500 men."

Obs. 1. This estimate, as to number, depends upon the following suppositions; 1. That the Briftol muster-rolls are correct. 2. That Mr. Clarkson's extract from them is impartial and accurate. 3. That the apparent loss of failors in 24 ships is a sufficient datum for estimating the loss in 600. 4. That the loss in 1786 is a sufficient datum for estimating the loss in every other year. 5. That 200 men are the most ever wanted to recruit annually the king's ships upon the West-India station in time of peace. Whoever fees reason to admit these several suppositions. must also admit Mr. Clarkson's conclusion: to me it feems that they are at least doubtful, and confequently that the estimate is unsupported. Without doubt the flave ships leave many of their crews in the islands, but the number is not in any degree afcertained.

Obs. 2. The afternative flated by Mr. Clarkfon, between men " either perishing, or being left behind," appears to be very different; but Mr. C. clearly confiders it as one and the fame thing with respect to us, since he immediately proceeds to prove that the whole 500 are for ever lost to this country; and accounts for them in the following manner:

Mr. Clarkson says, "It is well known, and "can be proved, that some of them die in the "West-India hospitals; others are so disulted by the hardships and ill usage they have received on board the slave ships, that "they have suffered themselves to die with "hunger, rather than embark in any British "ship."

Obs. Mr. Clarkson is ever most ready to to offer proof where it seems least wanted; nobody will doubt the first of these affertions, but sew will believe the last without further proof.

"Others, to forget their sufferings, and to relax a little after their hardships, drink mew rum, and thus fall victims—I will not fay to intemperance, but to the nature of the trade—which has first brought them into a debilitated state, and then put them adrift to effect their own cure."

Obs. 1. What pity it is that Mr. Clarkfon's palliating charity was not uniform! He will not call failors, who drink themselves into into disease and death, intemperate; but he constantly applies the cant term Receivers,\* to planters who buy negroes under the repeated sanction of Parliament.

2. It is highly probable that the African failors fuffer more from new rum, than those in the West-India trade; and for this plain reason, the former receive part of their wages in the West Indies, which the latter do not.

"Others," Mr. C. fays, "without mo-"ney or friends, beg from door to door, till "they die of heat, hunger, and fatigue."

Obs. Mr. C. does not represent this lot of sailors as being unable to work; therefore there seems to be no reason for supposing them to die of hunger, &c. oftener in the West Indies than in this country: on the contrary, I understand that a white man there who can do any thing, seldom wants full employment and high wages.

"Others determine to embark for America, there to spend the remainder of their days."

Obs. 1. I have no doubt that some, and perhaps many, do embark for America; but neither I nor Mr. Clarkson can tell whether

<sup>\*</sup> See his Essay on Slavery, p. 146, 148, 150, &c.

they determine, or do in fact pass the re-

- 2. It does not appear that Mr. Clarkson ever was in the West Indies.
- 3. Mr. Clarkson does not attempt to ascertain how many of the five hundred die in the West Indies, and how many go to America.
- 4. As a part (about one third\*) of the crew of most slave ships are landmen; and as the master of every coasting crast in the Islands must be a white man, it is supposed that many of these get employment there; the landmen especially, if they know any thing of husbandry or handicrasts, may have great encouragement to stay. Were these circumstances unknown to Mr. Clarkson? or did he overlook them, though he endeavoured to find out every avenue to make these sive hundred sailors escape?

Mr. Clarkson (besides the loss by seamen dying on board and lest in the islands) estimates an additional loss of three in every crew, by incurable disease, or disgust at their ill

<sup>\*</sup> See the answers from the Collectors of the Ports of Bristol and Liverpool, and information from Mr. Norris, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 2.

treatment; and this estimate Mr. Clarkson founds,

mas, belonging to Mr. Jones of Bristol; three of which crew were disabled, one renounced the sea, and one became a miner in the coal pits.

Obs. The crew of a single ship goes but a little way towards forming a general estimate.

2. Upon the apparently debilitated state of the crews, and the discontent they have expressed in conversations with Mr. Clarkson.

Obs. But these men may recover their health and strength in their native air, and they may change their minds.

3. Upon the patients received in the Briftol and Liverpool hospitals for seamen.

Obs. By a return from the trustees of the Bristol hospital,\* it appears, that "more men "return unhealthy from Africa than the West "Indies, and that more of the crews die and and become blind in the wood ships than the

" flave thips."

From the books of the Liverpool hospital it appears, that " of thirty-four blind sailors ad" mitted in the course of forty years, thirty-

<sup>\*</sup> See these Returns, Priv. Co. Rep. Part a. tit. Brif. tol and Liverpool Muster-rolls.

" one had been in African ships; but whether

" upon the whole, more failors from African

" than other ships had been admitted, cannot

" be known, as the books do not mention the

" employments of the patients."

These accounts afford no data for a calculation of the kind proposed by Mr. C. and therefore he must either abandon this estimate of an additional loss of three in every crew, or offer better reasons to support it.\*

With respect to the treatment of the failors, Mr. Clarkson relates four or five instances of ill treatment which were related to him.

Obs. 1. Mr. Clarkson has not given in their names. 201 M have the entering add the Man

2. The parties should speak for themfelves.

Mr. Clarkson fays, " that he had fixty-"one applications at Liverpool from failors,"

\* The above observations upon Mr. C.'s estimate of the loss of seamen tend only to shew that it is not established. Whether this loss (admitting it to be as Mr. C. states it) can be lessened by regulations; and, whether its bad effect on the naval state of the kingdom be such, as to afford one strong reason for abolishing the Slave Trade, are questions of argument, not evidence, and consequently make no part of my undertaking. Alter is finish loog will bas to? ono w

(none

(none named) "who had been ill treated on board of African ships. That some of these cases have been compromised, but none of them have yet been brought to trial before a jury."

Obs. Nor ever will, if the officers are well advised, unless indeed Mr. Clarkson will become security for the costs. The practices of the Wapping solicitors have almost abolished the trial by Jury in these cases. It is known, that an officer sued by a sailor (whether right or wrong) saves money by suffering judgement to go against him by default; for though the defendant may be sure of a verdict, he is also sure of never getting his costs.

Mr. Clarkson gives an account of a charge of murder, on board an African ship, and "that the fact appeared so clear, that the mayor of Bristol committed the person "charged."

Obs. The commitment proves nothing but a death and an accusation. Without doubt the death was admitted, and the only question must have been, murder or not; consequently the mayor is bound to commit upon very slight circumstances against the party accused.

It seems that this prosecution was earried on by Mr. Clarkson, and the prisoner was
discharged by proclamation, "Because," as
Mr. C. states, "the witnesses could not see
"the attorney Mr. C. wished to employ,
"whom he believes to have been out of
"town, as Mr. C. himself was, and there"fore the witnesses had no person to bring
"them forward in time."

Obs. 1. All this may be true; but upon such occasions it is commonly understood, either that the charge is false, or the witnesses bought off, or afraid to appear; or that the attorney does not chuse to produce them.

2. A profecution for murder should not be hastily commenced, or negligently conducted.\*

# HUGH

\* There is more evidence of the ill-treatment and distalistaction of the seamen, which is generally contradicted (and it admits of no other contradiction) by Adm. Edwards, Messrs. Penny and Heatly, the Trustees for the relief of seamen in Bristol and Liverpool, and particularly by Sir George Yonge, who went on board many of the slave ships, in consequence of the sailors complaints. Sir George Yonge expressy says, that, "In his opinion their treatment from their commanders is not worse than in other trades; but from climate,

#### HUGH DALRYMPLE, Esq.

Served in the seventy-fifth regiment, at the reduction of Goree, in 1779; remained on that part of the Coast from the beginning of May to the beginning of October, and made several excursions to the adjacent countries.

Mr. Dalrymple speaks to the government and religion of the country, to the manner of making slaves, (viz. by wars, crimes, and breaking up villages) to the treatment of prisoners, and the natural produce of the soil, of which he enumerates a great variety of articles, and

"climate, rains, lying long in rivers, bad accommo"dations, and frequent want of provisions, they suffer
"more." The inconvenience of climate must be submitted to, as in other services; but the accommodation
and provisions for the sailors seem to be effectually secured by the 29th of George III. c. 66; and the discipline is in some parts regulated, as far, I suppose, as
the legislature thought it prudent to interfere. I have
heard, that the consequences of a relaxed discipline in
the merchant ships have been selt and complained of
in other trades. The courts of law are still open to
redress real grievances of this sort.

H

compares their quality with those of other countries.

Obs. 1. As we have not, since the last peace, carried on any Slave Trade at Goree, or on the opposite coast, nearer than the Gambia, this evidence is not strictly applicable.

2. It does not appear, that Mr. Dalrymple

knows the language.

3. Mr. D.'s account is contradicted, or explained, by the evidence of Messrs. Barnes, Poplett, and Heatly; and also by some pas-

fages in Barbot. ‡

4. Mr. Dalrymple feems to have directed his inquiries to too many objects, and one knows not how to depend upon the authenticity of fuch various information, obtained during a residence of five months only, in such a climate, at the most unfavourable season,\* and when there was but very little trade + on that part of the Coast.

\* Barbot. 32. 77. Moore C. 3.

the merchant finish have been told and complained of

collect swears anothering that

and the road grace or are of the feet.

<sup>1</sup> In Churchill's Coll. V. v. p. 39, 58.

See Gen. Rooke's evidence, in the Priv. Co. Rep.

## CAPT. THOMAS DEANE

Pilitero, finding to be faroug tea-

Has made two voyages to Africa in the wood trade, between the ifles De Los and Cape Le Hou; and was, in the whole, eighteen months upon the Coast.

Capt. Deane fays, "That flaves are fold for crimes, or supposed crimes."

Obs. 1. As Capt. D. did not trade in slaves, and does not appear to know the language, it might be asked, how he came to the know-ledge of crimes being supposed.

2. Mr. Penny\* (who has been eighteen years in the Slave Trade, and resided two years on this part of the Coast) says, "That three-" fourths of the inhabitants are domestic slaves, "who are never sold without a trial. That he has been present at these trials, and some-"times seen the accused party acquitted.+" That the government would be afraid of

-ul of soccasie a ylan ton

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1. tit. Slaves.

Mr. Fraser understood, in a great measure, the language in Angola, and has been present at a trial which lasted twelve hours. Committee of H. C. Rep. p. 6.

"committing any act of injustice, for fear of a revolt."—These seem to be strong reafons against the idea of crimes being falsely charged.

Capt. Deane fays, "Adulterers are con"demned to flavery, and the women will of"ten entice men to commit the crime, in
"order to accuse them."

Obs. Then this practice lessens the probability of adultery being falfely charged.

Capt. Deane fays, "Many are fold for witch-"craft, which he believes is often made a pre-"tence in order to get flaves."

Obs. 1. If Europeans were the accusers, I should perfectly agree in this opinion; but the negroes are known to be revengeful and superstitious in the extreme;\* so much so, as rarely to believe a person dies a natural death; but almost always ascribe the death of a parent or relation, to his having offended some of his gods, or to the secret practices of some personal enemy. Add to this, that by witch craft is understood, not only a pretence to su-

<sup>\*</sup> See Priv. Co. Rep. Part 3, tit. Jamaica, A. No. 22, as to the practices of the Obi-men.

<sup>+</sup> Bofman, 217.

pernatural power, but also the crime of poisoning.\* From these considerations it should seem, that accusations of witchcraft (however absurd in fact) are less likely to be intentionally false than most others; for the belief of such a crime very easily follows a belief of the power to commit it.

2. When Barbot wrote, it appears, that the crime of witchcraft and poisoning were punished with death instead of slavery.

Capt. Deane mentions kidnapping by fraud or force, as one method of procuring flaves. He knew of a canoe going out to catch flaves, which returned with two; and the head man of the canoe was killed in the fray. He farther fays, "That the natives usually go armed to defend themselves against wild beasts, or it may be against their countrymen; but of this Capt. D. is not sure."

Obs. One single instance is surely not a sufficient ground for saying generally, "That one mode of getting slaves is, kidnapping."

<sup>\*</sup> Sorcier, c. a. d. selon la proprieté de leur langue Empoissonneur. Relat. de l'Afrique Occidentale, par Labat. V. ii. p. 196.

See also Mr. Fountain's evidence, at the Bar of the H. of C.

<sup>+</sup> Churchill's Collect. V. v. p. 120.

. Capt. Deane admits, "That the kidnapa " pers would themselves be fold if detected;

"that the princes have a duty on every flave

" fold, and therefore have an interest in pre-

"venting kidnapping; yet he is of opinion;

"that the princes fometimes privately en-

power to commit it. . . .

" courage it."

Obs. This opinion seems to contradict what had just before been admitted; fince a prince cannot well be supposed to encourage what it is his interest to prevent.

Obf. Capt. Deane, from want of time or curiofity, certainly did not inform himfelf of all the causes of slavery, for he omits debt and gaming; of which last, Mr. Penny says, the natives of this part of the Coast are very and Martinger covistand basis of or fond.\*

# WILLIAM DEVAYNES, Esq.

Resided one year at Anamaboe, and eleven at Whydah, as governor; and left Africa in 1763.

Mr. Devaynes thinks, "The trade in cot-"ton, indigo, &c. might be improved; but

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1. tit. Slaves.

it has been an object of European policy,

"to prevent the Africans from arriving at

" perfection in these articles, through fear of

" interfering with established branches of com-

" merce elsewhere." " ohn a sowike

Obs. 1. The weight of this affertion is much lessened by Mr. Devaynes's silence, as to the facts on which it is sounded; though Mr. D. may have very proper reasons for not being more explicit.

2. If fuch has really been the received policy in Europe, it behoves us to be the more carefull in confidering the possible confequences of deviating from it; lest we should err as much in opening a new trade, as in abolishing an old one. Mr. Devaynes says, "The natives might be brought to labour, and would become industrious, if properly encouraged."

Obs. It appears, then, that they were not industrious when Mr. D. was there. That they may become so, is a mere conjecture, contrary to the opinion of very many witnesses, who (speaking of all parts of the Coast from Senegal to Congo) agree in the difficulty of

and more than by knowpans (Govelant in-

fur-

furmounting the natural indolence and aversion from labour among the natives.\*

Mr. Devaynes fays, "If the African Com"pany would direct its fervants to give the
"natives a little encouragement, they might
"certainly be induced to prepare cotton and
indigo for exportation. This encouragement must be by setting them the example;
"for which purpose, the number of Europeans
"now there is sufficient."

Obs. 1. The opening of this new trade cannot be very difficult, if a little encouragement
from the African Company would effect
it; but when Mr. D. adds, that the Europeans must set the example, and that the Europeans already there are sufficient, the matter wants much more explanation. There
are not, perhaps, twenty Europeans in Whydah, + and probably not one who understands
the

\* Sir George Yonge, Capts. Hills and Heatly, Mess. Miles, Norris, Penny, Poplett, and Matthews. Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1. tit. Produce.

Bosman 101. Barbot. Churchill's Collect. V. v. p. 34.—Relat. de l'Afrique Occid. par Labat. V. ii. p. 303.

+ By Capt. Parry's report, there were, in February, 1788, no more than 87 Europeans (Governors included)

the preparing of cotton and indigo. It remains, then, to be shewn, in what manner they are able to encourage the natives by their own example.

2. In fact, other Europeans have at different times, and in different parts of the Coast, encouraged, and set the natives an example of increasing the natural produce, but without effect.\*

3. It

cluded) in all the African Company's forts, on the Gold Coast. Twenty, therefore, seems a large estimate for Whydah.

See Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, No. 8, of the detached pieces of evidence.

\* The Portuguese had formerly two indigo works on the Coast of Sierra Leone; one at the Rio Pongeos, the other at Jassa, an island in the river Sierra Leone. (These are now come to nothing.)

By Mr. Matthew, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1. tit. Produce.

Example has been set them by the Dutch, at Axim, in the article of cotton, which was undertaken to a confiderable extent; but the natives could not be induced to work, or follow the example. By Mr. Weuves, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1. tit. Produce; and these plantations are now laid aside. Priv. Co. Rep. Part 6, tit. Holland.

Mr. Bruë (Director of the French African Company, in the beginning of this century) often tried to persuade

3. It is some objection to the establishing a trade in bulky commodities, that there is not only no port in Whydah, but that the Coast is very dangerous (perhaps the most so in Africa) and inaccessible to every kind of craft, but canoes.\*\*

Mr. Devaynes fays, "The King of Daho"mey values himself upon the number of his
"subjects; and if he could procure European
"commodities by their labour, he would
"certainly prefer employing them in that way,
"to selling them."

Obf. 1. According to Mr. Norris's evidence, this King values himself also upon the num-

two Black Chiefs to cultivate tobacco, which would have grown on their lands, good and in abundance; but all to no purpose. They seemed to admit the profit they might expect, but their indolence was insurmountable.—Relat. de L'Afrique Occid. par Labat. V. iii. p. 203.

Mr. Matthews repeatedly tempted them to cultivate cotton, by an offer of (what would have brought the price to) about 9d. per lb. uncleaned. Another very intelligent trader on the Coast has done the same, but could never get more than a few pounds. Mr. Matthew, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Produce.

\* Bosman, 314. Barbot 5 Churchill's Collect. 324. Phillips's Voy. 6 Churchill's Collect. 228, 229. Voy. du Chev. des Marchais, V. ii. p. 24.

bers he can afford to flaughter at the annual Customs.\* Mr. Devaynes more reasonably says, "That he does not think it possible to "ascertain the King's motives for killing his "subjects." But how, then, can Mr. D. pronounce, "That he would certainly prefer "working his subjects, to selling them?" It should seem, that the conduct of such a sanguinary and capricious tyrant towards his subjects, must be always and wholly uncertain.

2. The friends of the Abolition Bill affert, or rather assume, as an undeniable fact, that the Slave Trade is an insuperable impediment to the introduction of any other trade in Africa, and may, perhaps, cite this part of Mr. Devaynes's evidence, in proof of their affertion. It is, therefore, proper to observe, 1. That many of the slaves sold in Whydah, are not of the King of Dahomey's country, but prisoners of war, or bought at inland markets.

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Government.

Ibid.

Mr. Wilberforce's speech, p. 50.

Clarkfon's effay on the Impolicy of the S, T. p. 20.

<sup>§</sup> See the evidence of Messrs. Devaynes and Dalzell, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves.

2. That if any prince on earth can make his subjects work, it is the King of Dahomey. 3. That his dominions being very extensive and populous,\* he has enough fubjects to fell, enough to work, and enough to kill; and may, therefore, at his own will and pleafure, compel them to follow any example of European improvement, whether the Slave Trade be abolished or not. 4. Though there are supposed to be from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves annually exported from his dominions; yet the English get no more than 700 or 800 of them; the remainder are shared by the Portuguese and French; but by far the greater proportion to the French.+ Admitting therefore (for argument's fake) that the Slave Trade is, in other parts, an impediment to any other trade. the Slave Trade carried on by the English, in Whydah, can be no impediment there, nor could our abolishing it operate any thing towards the introduction of new branches of commerce in that country.

Sce Mr. Norris's evidence, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Government, &c.

<sup>\*</sup> See the evidence of Mr. Dalzell, who was four years Governor at Whydah. Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Government.

Mr. Devaynes (to whom Mr. Norris appealed for confirmation of part of his evidence) differs from Mr. Norris, who fays, "That a great carnage is made in Dahomey, at the annual payment of the poll-tax, and when the King waters the grave of his ancestors." Mr. Devaynes fays, "The poll-tax does not exist; but that these annual factorisces are made when the King buries again his father or mother." And Mr. Dalzell fays, "That this slaughter is, when the King makes (what is called) customs."

Obs. 1. Mr. Norris's appeal to Mr. Devaynes shews, that he spoke his real opinion, and wished to have it corrected, if wrong,

2. These different accounts only prove, that these gentlemen are not clear as to the occasion and motives of this annual slaughter; but the fact is established by them all.

Mr. Devaynes "does not believe the num-"ber put to death, in his time, was near fo "many as is mentioned by Mr. Norris."

Obs. Mr. Norris says the numbers vary; and for a very obvious reason, viz. "If the "King is in want of European goods, the exe"cutions are fewer." When Mr. Norris was with

with the King, there seems to have been a glut of unsaleable prisoners; for 1500 were brought in, and Mr. Norris resused to buy any of them, as they appeared to be unhealthy; upon which the King said, "He should, then, put them "to death."

# MR. THOMAS ELDRID

Carried on the Slave Trade in ships from Rhode Island, between 1765 and 1768, when he left the trade, conceiving it to be unlawful. He could speak the Susa language, i. e. of the country between the Gambia and the Sierra Leone.

Obs. After this fair confession on the part of Mr. Eldrid, one is inclined to believe his account of facts, and to doubt his reasoning and opinions.

Mr. Eldrid believes, "That wars are made "to procure flaves, for a man was brought "on board his ship with a bad wound in his head, who told him, that he was taken "in the war because he could not get away on account of his wound; but Mr. E. does "not know in what country the war was, "nor does he remember any other instance."

Obs. As this man told Mr. Eldrid nothing of the nature of this war, and as Mr. Eldrid clearly knew nothing of it, it is impossible to guess why he concluded it to be a war for slaves; unless indeed, Mr. E. presumes (what has been asserted elsewhere\*) that there are no wars in Africa for any other purpose, an idea which is completely resuted by the evidence of Messrs. Devaynes, Matthews, and Miles, and most of the writers upon Africa.+

Mr. Eldrid says, "Another mode is by being trepanned: he learned this in con"versation with some who had been trepan"ed, but never saw an instance of it."

Obs. 1. Mr. Eldrid, by his own account, collected many of his flaves by boating, a method supposed to be particularly favourable to kidnapping; therefore, Mr. E. having never seen an instance of this practice in the mode of slaving, where it is supposed to be most used, is strong evidence against it;

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Wilberforce's speech, p. 7.

<sup>†</sup> Leon. African. op. p. 644; Ed. Elz. 1632, and p. 654, 655; Bosman, p. 20, 373, 374; I. Churchill's Collection, 626; VI. Churchill's Coll. 224, &c. &c.

but Mr. E. prefers forming his opinion from hearfay evidence, rather than from his own experience.

2. Any man would tather fay he had been trepanned, than condemned for a crime.

Mr. Eldrid fays, "Slaves become fo for "crimes, especially for adultery: they are "tried by a council of the Headmen. Mr.

"E. has seen such offenders tried, and does

" not believe they are ever pardoned, unless

" they get a flave in their room."

Obs. 1. There is no doubt but adultery is a very common crime in Africa,\* and there is no reason to suppose that it should be pardoned.

2. Mr. E. does not even hint that the trials were unfair.

Mr. Eldrid "knows nothing of the inte-"rior country; but as far as he knows of

" the Coast he does not believe they ever make

"human facrifices.

Obs. I presume, the only ground of this belief is, that Mr. E. never saw such facri-

<sup>\*</sup> See Capt. Deane's evidence, p. 52. I. Churchill's Collections, p. 741. Bosman, p. 170, 176.

fices, for the practice is established beyond dispute.\*

Mr. Eldrid, in each of his three voyages, "took on board from 140 to 150 flaves, and his ship was about 200 tons. In the first he lost about seventy, in the others between twenty and thirty. Attributes this difference in the loss to having lain long upon the Coast."

Obs. 1. I believe Mr. Eldrid attributes the mortality of his slaves to the true cause: his owners sitted him out parsimoniously in some respects, and he never had a surgeon; but it does not seem to me that much is to be expected from medicine, where an epidemical disease once gets among the slaves. The Legislature has now limited the number in proportion to the tonnage, which will probably do some service; though I own it appears to me from the whole evidence, that such diseases are oftener occasioned by the ship having lain a long time within the atmosphere of

<sup>\*</sup> See the evidence of Messers. Devaynes, Miles, and Weuves: I. Churchill's Coll. p. 742, 743; V. Churchill's Collections, p. 85, 88, 172, &c. &c. Bosman, p. 223.

an unhealthy Coast, than by being too much crouded.

2. Mr. Eldrid's loss was uncommonly great. I have made out two accounts of the average loss of all the ships of which evidence has been given at the Privy Council; first—I took the total of such numbers only as were precisely specified, which stands thus,

Shipped 5967 Died 547
which is a little more than nine per cent.
Second—If to these specific numbers is added a medium estimate of the numbers given in by witnesses who have used the uncertain terms, about 250, or from 250 to 300, the account will stand,

Shipped 15973 Died 1464
a little above nine per cent.\* and it is to be

\* Mr. Wilberforce states the loss (see his speech, p. 17) to be twelve and a half per cent. exclusive of any loss before the ships leave the Coast, and between their arrival and the sale in the West-Indies;—but it seems clear to me, that the witnesses speak of their whole loss, from their arrival on the Coast of Africa to their arrival in the West Indies. As to the result of my accounts, it is possible I may be mistaken; but I have compared them more than once with the evidence, and have myself no doubt but my result is true.

observed, that one of the ships in the first statement is the Britannia; in which ship, out of 450 slaves, 230 perished by the small-pox, the captain having inoculated the whole cargo, in consequence of one slave having brought this disease on board.\*

Mr. Eldrid says, "The difference in the "number of male and female slaves, ex"ported from Africa, is occasioned by the de"mand in the West Indies being greater for 
the former than the latter; and that female 
flaves can be procured more easily than 
males."

- Obs. 1. Mr. Eldrid appears to be a very unenlightened trader, in thus supposing, that prompt payment and demand will always bring a sufficient quantity of goods to market: in all countries the inhabitants will serve themselves first.
- 2. The weight of evidence is confiderably against Mr. Eldrid's affertion, which is only supported by Capt. Thomas Wilson (who appears to have been in Africa, viz. Goree, and in the Gambia, no more than five months) and by Mr. Falconbridge. On the other side,

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. Part 2.

Messer. Anderson, Baillie, Barnes, Dalzell, Heatly, Matthews, Miles, Newton, Norris, Poplett, and Weuves, all agree, that no saleable slave, male or semale, is ever resused: that the Europeans preser an affortment of two thirds males, and one third semales, but that it is difficult to procure even this proportion of women. Capt. Heatly expressly says, that he has known many instances of a prime male slave being changed for an ordinary semale, and has often done so himself.

3. Polygamy is universal in Africa; and women are valuable, not only as wives, but as labourers, it being almost an universal practice for the women to do all the work in the field, as well as in the house—More men must be taken prisoners of war than women:—These are all allowed facts; they speak more conclusively to this point than any evidence can do, and indeed seem to put an end to the question.\*

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<sup>\*</sup> See these reasons stated at large in the Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves.

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## Mr. FALCONBRIDGE

Says, "That he has made five voyages to "Africa. On the windward Coast the go"vernment is a fort of aristocracy; at Bonny
it is in a King and twelve Parliament Gentlemen, and the people believe in a God,
but worship a lizard. Mr. F. does not
know the nature of the government in
Angola; but the religion appears to be the
Roman Catholic."

Obs. This is all Mr. F. professes to know of the government, religion, manners, and customs of Africa; at least this is all the evidence he gave to the Committee of the Privy-Council on these points.

Mr. Falconbridge "faw a man who was "invited to come and look at the ship, and "was seized, brought on board, and sold."

Obs. 1. This piece of evidence is carefully worded. On first reading it, one may suppose that Mr. F. was present at the whole transaction, yet he does not expressly say so.

2. Captain Fraser, under whom Mr. F. made this voyage, being questioned as to this story

the following account:\* "I cannot say whe"ther any such man was invited or not; I
"recollect the circumstance of a man being
brought along side the ship, and delivered"to me, who, I believe, did not know that
he was going to be sold; but he was sold
"publickly, between ten and twelve at noon,
and was never reclaimed. Slaves are some"times reclaimed by the Government, as hav"ing been improperly sold. In such cases
"another slave is offered in exchange, which
"I always accepted. Mr. F. always declared
to me that he understood but little of the
"language."

A woman told Mr. F. "That she was "caught in returning home from a neigh"bour's house."

"An old man and his fon told him they had been kidnapped, as they were planting "yams."

Obs. I understand the women do all the field labour in Angola.

A flave in Grenada faid in Mr. F.'s hearing, "That he had been employed in

<sup>\*</sup> Com. of H. of C. Rep. p. 42, 43, 44.

" kidnapping others, and was afterwards kid"napped himself."

Mr. Falconbridge "inquired if flaves were "bred for fale, but could not find the leaft rea"fon to believe it."

Obs. Upon this very slender knowledge of the country, and these accounts from sour slaves, whose language it does not appear that Mr. F. knows, and to whom every body would not give implicit credit, Mr. F. has sounded a favorite hypothesis,—that Kidnapping is the chief, or rather only mode by which slaves are made.

Mr. Falconbridge fays, "He never re-"ceived any other account than what he has "given of the mode of making flaves."

Obs. The only account Mr. F. states in his evidence is of kidnapping. Mr. F. indeed, says, "That the traders go and buy slaves at "the inland fairs;" but this is merely buying slaves already made, not a mode of making them slaves. Mr. F. says, "He never "heard of any wars to procure slaves; and "that upon inquiry, he found no reason to believe that any slaves were bred for sale;" consequently the only account Mr. F. has received or given, is by kidnapping, to which

practice he ascribes the making of most of the slaves which are sold in Africa.

The Committee of the Privy Council, apparently startled at so strange an inference, could not avoid asking Mr. F. "How he "accounted in his own mind for so many being kidnapped, and whether the practice could possibly go to such extent as he states in his pamphlet, wherein he says, that 1500 flaves are sometimes brought down toge-ther?" To this question Mr. F. replied, "That it was his opinion, from various circumstances, that this practice prevails."

- Obs. 1. This was no answer to the Committee's question, which was as to the degree of prevalence, and the possible extent of the practice. But Mr. F. is not the first instance of a man, who, thinking himself pledged to maintain an opinion he has once published, has been forced to substitute mere affertion for argument and evidence.
- 2. Mr. Falconbridge's evidence in support of this extraordinary position, is not only extremely weak and desective, but the evidence against it seems to be conclusive; for, 1st, Messrs. Barnes, Miles, Weuves, Penny, Heatly, Anderfon, &c. expressly declare, that in most parts

of Africa kidnapping cannot possibly be practifed without detection. 2dly, All the witneffes who fpeak of its being fometimes practised admit that, if detected, it is always punished as a crime. 3dly, Thousands of flaves are exposed to fale in open markets, held at times known to traders living at a great distance, who go up to those markets with great quantities of goods, in fafety and uninterrupted, and return with hundreds of flaves, often loaden with ivory, through different countries and a journey of many days, and iometimes weeks. Surely these circumstances cannot belong to a trade supported by accidental depredations, but prove some regular means of fupply, as well as an effectual and extensive protection. Indeed, the more one confiders these circumstances, the more one is inclined to believe (though the impenetrable nature of the country has hitherto prevented our having much \* evidence to this (trion themselves did not leave it. ames howen has heard the Black Trader

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Poplet fays, that in Demel, Tin, Barbeffin and Barra, there are great numbers bred for fale.

Mr. Heatly fays, there are in these same countries many born slaves; it is not uncommon for one man to own 500, and these are sold at pleasure.

point) that there must be in the interior parts great numbers of slaves bred for the purpose of trade: this being a more reasonable supposition, than that near 100,000 slaves should be annually supplied by wars, crimes, debts, and kidnapping; by which last method I doubt not but some are procured, though in a very small proportion to the whole.

Mr. Falconbridge being asked by the Committee—What was the effect of the suspension of the trade in slaves during the war? replied, "He believed the effect of the suspension was only to make the inhabitants "more industrious, and oblige them to cultivate their lands; but on his first arrival at Angola after the war, he did not perfective any difference in the appearance of the

Mr. Weuves (at the Bar of the House of Commons) said, That perhaps some of the slaves brought down to the Gold Coast might be bred for sale; but this he spoke as a mere opinion, and added, That the Black Brokers themselves did not know it.

Mr. James Bowen has heard the Black Traders fay, That the Cabocheers breed flaves for the purpose of trading with the Europeans.

Capt. Fraser says, Most of the slaves bought at Bonny come from the interior country, and confess themselves to have been slaves, Com. of H. of C. Rep. p. 19.

"lands with respect to a greater degree of "cultivation." and and one one to breed "

Obs. In other words, Mr. F. believed the sufpension of the Slave Trade caused an effect, which did not appear to have been produced.

Mr. Falconbridge in his evidence fays, "The negroes were fed with horse-beans" and rice in sufficient quantities, and now and then a little meat."

Obs. 1. Mr. F. in his pamphlet says, "their "allowance of food is so scanty, that it is "barely sufficient to support nature." Both these accounts cannot be true; but as this scantiness of food does not appear to be one of those "facts within his own knowledge, "for which he referred the Committee to his "pamphlet," I presume Mr. F. means that his evidence should be credited in preserve to his pamphlet.

2. Admitting therefore the quantity to be fufficient, there does not feem to be any thing in the quality of this food either unwholesome or difgusting, especially to negroes, who live almost entirely on roots and pulse.

Mr. Falconbridge fays, "they have such "an aversion to horse-beans, that unless they

Mr.

"are watched they will throw them over"board, or into one another's faces, when
"they quarrel."\*

- Obs. 1. This may be true of some of the Africans; but Capt. Phillips, who bought a cargo of 700 negroes at Whydah, says, "they "expressed a particular fondness for our horse- beans;" and Barbot makes the same remark; V. Churchill's Coll. p. 546.
- 2. Q. If horse-beans are not a food peculiarly proper for the negroes in their passage, as the warm and astringent qualities of the beans may counteract the effects of too great perspiration, and the usual tendency to the flux?
- \* Capt. Hall observed this dislike to horse-beans among the negroes he bought at Rio de Rey, and Carlabar, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 2.
- Capt. Phillips's account of his voyage (for he made but one) bears the strongest marks of veracity, as to facts within his own knowledge, of any book I have met with upon the subject. With respect to the government, manners, and opinions of the natives, he seems to have inserted whatever information he got without the least consideration or selection; consequently, there is some inconsistency in this part of his account; his facts sometimes contradicting his information. N. B. Phillips's voyage is in Churchill's Collection, vol. VI.

' 2. Mr. Barnes, speaking of Senegal, and (I believe) Gambin, favs, "that he knows no.

# "country with country in the country admission of the

Has lived near thirty years in the Danish West-India islands, and made two voyages to Gambia and Sierra-Leone, in 1758 and 1762.

Mr. Gandy says generally, that the natives procure the flaves from the interior parts of the country, and that he can give no account in what manner they are so procured; but adds, "at Gambia they have slaves among "them, but they are treated more like ser- vants than slaves: they sell them sometimes, "and will continue to do so as long as the "Slave Trade continues; for whenever they want brandy, they condemn them under slight pretences, in order to sell them."

Obs. 1. Nobody will doubt but flaves will be fold in Africa, as long as there shall be brandy, and other European commodities to buy them:—but as it does not appear that Mr. Gandy either knows the language, or was ever present at the trials of any slaves, it is not possible to know what ground Mr. Gandy has for saying they are condemned under slight pretences.

2. Mr. Barnes, speaking of Senegal, and (I believe) Gambia, says, "that he knows no "country where (agreeable to the laws of "the country) justice is more fairly admi"nistered." The same and the same says that the same says the same says that the same says the same says that the same says that the same says that the same says the same says the same says that the same says that the same says the same says the same says that the same says that the same says that the same says the same says that the same says that the same says that the same says the same says the same says the same says that the same says that the same says t

Mr. Miles fays, that "the domestic, or "(as it rather feems) the inherited slaves can"not be fold but with the consent of their "fellow slaves."

This evidence is a sufficient answer to any mere opinion; and this affertion of Mr. Gandy is nothing more.

- 3. There is a further reason against the probability of salse accusations in the Gambia countries particularly, for in those countries great numbers are bred for sale, and it is not unusual for one man to have 500, or even 1000 slaves, which he may sell at pleasure.\* Now most certainly, where a master may sell his slaves without any accusation, it is not likely that he should make a salse one.
- 4. The Gambia country does not at prefent supply half the slaves it did when Mr. Gandy was there. This and other circumstances may have made considerable alterations in the trade since the year 1762.

pretences.

<sup>\*</sup> See note, p. 73.

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States, that he made two voyages to Africa, from 1772 to 1776, and fays, that "he "conceives the Slave Trade to be founded in "blood."

Obs. 1. If a witness wished to lessen the weight of his evidence, he could not do it more effectually than by obtruding upon the Court an unasked opinion in intemperate

language.

2. The opinion itself is uncharitable, and injurious to all the persons concerned in the Slave Trade; indecent with respect to the legislature; and not to be supported without a strange perversion of language, and confounding all distinctions between things lawful and things unlawful. But the discussion of mere opinions does not come within the design of this work.

Capt. Hall fays, "The does not believe any wars are entered into on the Sea Coast for

"the purpose of making slaves."

where, as I understand Capt. Hall; for as he shows

shews no backwardness in giving his opinions to the disadvantage of the Slave Trade, if he had thought wars were carried on inland to get slaves, he would probably have said so.

Capt. Hall fays, " there was a violent war " in 1768 on the Calabar Coast, caused by " the captains of some English Guinea ships, "who finding the natives of Old and New "Calabar towns so jealous of each other as " not to venture up the country for flaves, "invited both parties on board, under the pre-" tence of reconciling them, but in fact with " a defign of furprifing the people of the Old "Town, and delivering them up to their " enemies of the New Town. This scheme " was put in execution, and many of the "chiefs of the Old Town were put to death, " and the inferior people fold to the Cap-" tains."

ago, and Capt. Hall was never at Calabar till five or fix years afterwards, consequently he speaks only from report; but the charge is sufficiently circumstantial to be answered, and as some of the persons who were present must be living, unless they contradict or explain it, they

they must be held guilty of a most treache-

above four years the theme of popular clamour and pious invective; though it has been represented as a constant source of war and bloodshed all over Africa, yet this is the only instance, of which any thing like proof has been given, of a war excited or encouraged for the purpose of procuring slaves.

Capt Hall fays, "the English were as well "received by the natives of the Old Town after the above circumstance as before."

Black Traders at Bimbe, and the other captains who were on the Coast when Capt. Bibby took away his pawns from the river Cameroones,\* experienced nothing very forgiving on the part of the natives, who are in general described to be treacherous and vindictive in the externed This circumstance, therefore, of the English being so well received at Old Calabar, inclines mento suspect that Capt. Hall has not heard the whole of the story. It seems as if the people of the Old Town knew they

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See infra under Gov. Parry's evidence and

had done formething to deserve the treatment they had met with, and therefore thought proper to overlook it. I do admit that, as the war continued, it was for their interest to receive some Europeans, for the sake of selling their prisoners; but that the English should venture to go there after such a transaction (supposing it to have passed exactly as stated above) is as extraordinary as that they should be well received.

Capt. Hall "believes fome of the flaves the bought were prisoners of war brought "from the interior country, and some were kidnapped, having heard this from some of the Black Brokers, who speak broken "English."

Obs. General evidence of kidnapping given by the natives must not be taken as conclusive proof of the fact, for it is clear they use this term in a more extensive sense than we do. Both Whites and Blacks seem to consider the words piniared, + and kidnapped, as synonimous, which they certainly are not. We consine

The natives of Calabar are generally inhuman, treacherous, very thievish, and salse to the most solemn engagements. Barbot, V. Churchill's Coll. p. 462.

<sup>+</sup> Or panyared.

the meaning of both these words to the seizing any person, not being an enemy, by force or fraud. But it appears from Mr. Norris's evidence,\* that the natives apply them to enemies, seized or taken in any other manner than openly in the field of battle. It likewise seems to me, that a native (justly indebted to his prince for any kind of tribute) if he were surprised by the prince's guard and sold, would make use of the same word, piniared, to describe the mode of his becoming a slave.

Further—Capt. Phillips tells us, that "of"ten fome of the traders will defire us to
"trust them with goods, for which they
"commonly leave some pledge; but if we
"take their words, and they do not come
"and pay according to promise, we piniar
"or seize as many negroes of the town
"where the debtor lives, as are worth the
"amount of the debt. These send word to
"their relations that they are piniared, and
"for how much. The relations demand a
"palaver before the King or Cabocheer, who
"obliges the debtor and his friends to pro"vide the money to redeem the piniared

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Counc. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves.

"negroes, or to deliver themselves in their "flead."\*

Here, then, is another meaning of the word "piniar," very different from our idea of kidnapping; and as this practice still prevails on the coast, + and probably in the interior countries too, it is most likely that this continues to be one sense of the word "piniar."

Capt. Hall "believes the Africans to be as. "virtuous in all respects as Europeans."

Obs. Then it should seem, that the poor Africans have been most cruelly slandered. It may, however, afford some consolation to the African merchants, to learn that the same per-

"commonly leave fome placed but it w

<sup>\*</sup> Churchill's Coll. vol. vi. p. 206.

The Bimbe trader, who was seized by Capt. Williams, apparently acknowledges this practice to be at this day the law of the trade: for he did not complain of being detained unjustly, because the debt was not his own but another man's; but because the debtor was a Cameroon's man, and he himself a Bimbe man; adding, "that the Cameroons were not Bimbe, nor Bimbe "the Cameroons;" plainly allowing by this argument, that if he had been a Cameroon's man, the detainer would have been just. Privy Coun. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves. Mr. Arnold's Evidence.

Panyar or Piniar seems to be a corruption of the Portuguese word Apanhar, to lay hold of, to seize, to convict, &c. See Vieyra's Dict.

#### MR. DAVID HENDERSON.

fon who condemns the Slave Trade as "founded in blood," thinks the Europeans not a whit more virtuous in any respect than the ignorant, lazy, lustful, shameless, sottish, sanguinary, treacherous natives of Africa.\*

#### MR. DAVID HENDERSON

resident was read

Went two voyages before the mast in a slaving ship from Liverpool, about 1767, 1768, 1769, and one in the wood trade from New York to the River Gabon, 1770, and is now gunner on board the Centurion.—Mr. H. was brought to the Committee by Mr. Clarkson, and delivered his evidence in writing.

Obs. 1. It will of course be proper to question Mr. Henderson as to his motives for coming forward as a witness, and as to the substance of any conversations which may have passed between himself and Mr. Clarkson (or any person on his part) relative to his evidence.

attended to the bises of their full-wings

2. Be-

<sup>\*</sup> Died. Sic. Lib. iii. p. 147. Edit. Hanoviæ, 1604. Leon. African, Op. p. 94. Ed. Elz. 1632. Churchill's Coll. vol. i. p. 683, 729, 741, 743. Bosman, p. 101, 176, 181, 324, 451. Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 34, 119, 139, 385, 391, 462, 479, 493. Ibid. vol. vi. p. 195, 265.

2. Besides the objections common to all written evidence,\* I further object to Mr. Henderson's, that it is not his own, but composed wholly, or in great part, by Mr. Clarkson, or some such ingenious writer; and in support of my objection I beg my reader's attention to the following passages:

"When the cargo is completed, the vessels leaves the coast: this is usually done at night, as the slaves discover such a love for their country, that they would almost be distracted, if they saw themselves wasted from it."

Obs. "Slaves distracted with the love of their country, and wasted from it in the night"—might pass for pathetic in a novel, or bear being translated into a prize discourse, but seems absolute burlesque from the mouth of a foremast man.

"They (the flaves) are sometimes heard to 
"fing of their own accord, but their songs 
"usually contain the history of their sufferings 
"and the wretchedness of their situation."

"The seamen are used worse, in point of corporal punishment, in this than in any other trade. They are beaten on every trivial

"occasion; Mr. Henderson has seen them "knocked down with handspikes, and stam-" ped upon till the strength and passion of their " tyrants have been exhausted. On their arri-" val, however, in the West Indies, the cap-" tain and officers feem to relax a little from "their barbarity and to become kind: they give " the seamen leave to go on shore; but if they " stay longer than forty-eight hours, which it is to be prefumed they will do after so fatiguing " a voyage, they are then termed deferters, " and are not permitted to come on board. "This method they take with all the appear-" ance of lenity and indulgence, to cheat them " of their wages and to get rid of them: thus "turned adrift; without money and friends. "with ulcers and Guinea worms in their flesh," "they are configned to misery and want, and " are found begging about the wharfs in the " extremity of distress, forming that body of " people, who in the West Indies are known " by the name of Wharfingers."

Whoever will take the trouble of comparing the style of this passage with that of many passages in Mr. Clarkson's account \* or evidence \*

<sup>\*</sup> Impolicy of the Slave Trade, p. 54, & feq.

<sup>+</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. Part 2, tit. Mortality of Seamen.

of the ill treatment and loss of the failors employed in the Slave Trade, will, I am pretty certain, agree with me in thinking, that either Mr. Clarkson has composed for Mr. Henderfon, or Mr. Henderson for Mr. Clarkson; and it being a question of fine writing, and having myfelf been a Cambridge man, my own opinion prefers Mr. Clarkfon to the Gunner of the Centurion. If any gentleman (not of the fociety in the Old Jewry) after confidering the above passages, will seriously assure me that he believes Mr. Clarkson had no hand in them. I may, perhaps, ask Mr. Clarkson's pardon for having unjustly suspected him of being a fabricator of evidence: but if my suspicion be wellfounded, what is the Public to think of a caufe thus conducted, and supported by fuch means? What of Mr. Clarkson's decency and integrity, who produces a witness at the Council Chamber to deliver in as his own evidence, what is in fact the joint composition of himself and Mr. Clarkson?—Should it be faid, "that the " whole matter of this evidence is Mr. Hen-" derson's, only methodized and worded by "Mr. Clarkfon, which is no more than every "attorney does for a client who makes an " affidavit,"-I answer, that this would have becn

been some excuse, if Mr. H.'s evidence had been stated with the precision commonly used in an affidavit, i. e. accurately distinguishing between fact, information, opinion, and belief: but as this evidence stands at present, nothing can justify Mr. Clarkson for having prepared it.—There was no occasion that Mr. Henderfon should give his evidence in writing; if he did, there was no occasion it should be written by any one but himself, for truth is never more intelligibly communicated than by a plain tale, told in plain language, and by the witness himfelf. There was no occasion that Mr. Clarkfon should serve up Mr. Henderson's evidence with aggravating expressions and descriptions of circumstances, which may be true, but could not possibly be known either to Mr. Clarkson or Mr. Henderson. For instance, Mr. Henderson might have told us that his ships left the coast in the night, if the fact was so, which from his filence, I suspect it was not; but Mr. H. who has made only three voyages to Africa, and all to the same part of the coast, cannot know that the flave ships usually take their departure in the night. If the ships fail in the night, Mr. H. cannot know whether the flaves would or would not be "almost dif-" tracted N

" tracted at feeing themselves wasted from "their country," (by the way, the coast is not the country of one flave in twenty) nor whether this supposed distraction would proceed from love of their country, dread of the fea, or of being devoured \* at the end of their voyage. Mr. H. could not know that the tyrant captains beat their men till their strength and passion have been exhausted, since either being exhaufted would of course put an end to the beating. Such gratis dicta, fuch open exaggeration, can impose upon nobody who is capable of a moment's reflection; they are therefore perfectly infignificant in themselves: but they are very material to shew the disposition of the parties, to establish my opinion of the impropriety of Mr. Clarkson's conduct on this occasion, and to forestall any futile excufes, if the with an thorough a friend morable to

<sup>\*</sup> This idea, which was probably instilled into the natives by their rulers with a view to deter them from crimes, by aggravating the consequence of the punishment, has long prevailed, and still prevails in most of the inland parts of Africa. Bosman, p. 342. Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 339. Labat's Voyage aux Isles, Part 4. ch. 7. See also the Evidence of Mess. Newton ton and Poplet, Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves.

Having dwelt so long upon the general demerit of Mr. Henderson's evidence, I will not enter into particulars; but shall confine my observations to that single passage, in which Mr. H. states, "that the ships usually leave the "coast in the night."

Obs. If this were the practice, it surely would not have been forgotten or omitted by Messrs. Hall, Eldrid, Falconbridge, and Arnold, not one of whom hints at any such thing. Messrs. Miles, Weuves, Knox, and Mackintosh have expressly denied \* any such practice, and have farther said, "that as the ships must wait for "the land-wind, which seldom blows till be-"tween sive and six in the morning, and often "later, every seaman must know that the ships "cannot sail in the night." A more complete resultation cannot well be imagined; and in evidence, one affertion clearly disproved justly shakes the credit of the whole.

### CAPT. HILLS

Commanded his Majesty's sloop the Zephyr, on the Goree and Gambia station, about five months in 1781 and 1782.

<sup>\*</sup> See the Report of their Evidence given at the bar of the House of Commons.

Obs. Capt. Hills' evidence is clear and unexceptionable as far as it goes; but it cannot be supposed that a person without any knowledge of the language, and in the short space of sive months, could get much insight into the sources and management of the Slave Trade, even if he made it his sole business; nor can any general opinion of this trade be justly formed upon what passes on any one part of the coast.

Capt. Hills fays, "the King of Demel "feemed to have the power of felling his "fubjects; that his people went out in war dreffes almost every evening to get flaves; "and that he was very poor at this time, on "account of our annual presents being with-"held."

Obf. I doubt not the facts; but I deny that there is any proof of their being arbitrary or unjust.

In the beginning of this century, upon the arrival of some European ships on his coast, the King of Demel seized three hundred of his subjects, and then acquainted M. Brue (the Director of the French African Company) that he wanted some goods, and had got slaves to deal with him. M. Brue did not think

the three hundred flaves worth all the goods demanded by the King, but proposed that the King should take the goods, and give him an order to seize a certain number of his people in exchange. This the King resused, saying, that M. Brue might take such of his subjects as he (the King) might not think proper to sell, which might raise disturbances in the country." Upon which there was no bargain, and the King was obliged to go without the goods.\*

This passage proves that the Kings of Demel have (in common, I believe, with all the Kings between the rivers Senegal and Gambia) long exercised a power of selling some of their subjects. It strongly confirms the evidence of Messrs. Barnes and Poplett, who have expressly said, that the Kings never exercise this power but in virtue of some demand real or pretended: † and it shews that these demands

are

<sup>\*</sup> Labat's Afr. Occid. vol. iv. p. 148.

Mr. Barnes has heard that the Kings have attacked villages and fold the inhabitants, in cases of rebellion, resistance of the King's orders, or non-payment of the revenue; but never heard of their doing so for the purpose of making slaves.

Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves.

are by no means mere pretences set up arbitrarily, and without any rule or reason; but that on the contrary, the King's power is in these instances directed and limited by some laws or customs known amongst the natives, and which are in sact observed; for what else should prevent the King of Demel himself seizing three hundred more of his subjects, though he would not give M. Brue an order to seize? whereas, instead of doing so, he submitted to lose the opportunity of purchasing the goods he wanted.

2. Africa is not the only country where it is necessary to employ a military force in the collection of the revenue; I have been told that it is done in some parts of India; there indeed the defaulters are not sold, for they commonly do pay in the end; and besides, the government does not want slaves, but money; so in Africa, if the prisoners pay the duties they are discharged.\*

\* Mr. Poplett fays, the kings fometimes break the villages and fell the people; but never without fome pretence of the revenue being unpaid; and if the duties are paid, the prisoners (who are understood to be as pawns) are set free.

.v. Co. Reis But at titt Staves.

Priv. C. Rep. Part 1, tit. Government, &c.

3. Admitting the persons to be proper objects of seizure, its being done in the night does not seem to make any difference; it is probably done to prevent resistance, or it might require too many soldiers to surprise and secure their prisoners in the day.

4. The King's poverty accounts for the frequency of these expeditions when Capt. Hills was on the Coast; necessity might induce the King to enforce with rigour payments, which he might at another time have overlooked.

Capt. Hills "being particularly defirous of getting some black volunteers to serve on board his ship at Goree, some people one inight brought a man with his arms tied, whom Capt. Hills rejected. This man had been kidnapped without the King's order, and is the only instance within Capt. Hills' own knowledge. In the Gambia, Capt. Hills and his lieutenant wanting each a boy as servant, the Black pilot offered, if the Captain would send his boat towards the shore, to seduce two to come on board."

Obs. I have no doubt but the natives, especially the Black Pilot, would have contrived to have served Capt. Hills in the manner they

proposed, for they would have expected to have been well paid, and depended upon being effectually protected by the commander of a ship of war. These offers to Capt. Hills do not, therefore, by any means prove kidnapping to be a common mode of procuring slaves.—Indeed, where a fact is always punished with slavery if detected, it follows, either that such facts are seldom committed, or that the punishment of slavery carries with it very little terror.

### MR. W. JAMES,

A Master in the Navy, made three voyages to Bonny and Calabar, in 1764, 1766, and 1768. In the last voyage he was only eighteen years of age. Mr. J. was brought to the committee by Mr. Clarkson, and delivered his evidence in writing.

Obs. Mr. James should be desired to give an account of any conversations that may have passed between him and Mr. Clarkson.

Mr. James fays, "he can testify of his "own knowledge that fraud and treachery "constitute one of the means of obtaining flaves; and then gives an account of a "trader

" trader who wanted to fell two flaves with-

" out paying the king's duty, and who being

"brought on board by another trader, was

" himfelf fold, together with his two flaves,

"by this last trader." and ob blood bus

Obs. Though Mr. James gives this account as a proof within his own knowledge, yet he could not well be present at the whole transaction. The sale I presume he saw; but unless the trepanner acknowledged the trick, (which is not likely) how could Mr. James know what had passed between the two traders previous to their coming on board? or that the first trader was not in debt to the second? probably such a business caused some dispute. Is Mr. James certain that he heard all that passed? or that he understood all he heard? or that his recollection is clear and accurate, after an interval of twenty years?

Mr. James says, "these and other frauds
"of a similar nature, are constantly practised
"to make slaves."

Obs. 1. Evidence (especially in writing) is to be construed strictly and literally. The word "constantly," must be taken to mean, every part of the Coast, in every Slave ship, and whenever slaves are bought or sold. Did:

Mr. James consider the force of this expression, when he used it? or did Mr. Clarkson recommend it, under the idea of its being a general affertion, which might do some good, and could do no harm? which might mean something or nothing, just as the reader might happen to understand it?

2. If this was the constant practice, it is extraordinary. Mr. James should remember only a single instance of it, and that instance not to the point, without further explanation.

Mr. James fays, "the traders and canoeboys confessed that the great bulk of slaves
were taken in piratical excursions, or by
treachery and surprise; and from what he
knows of the trade he believes their affertions to be true."

Obs. Supposing this confession to be perfectly understood and remembered by Mr. James, still, I think, it will be seen that his evidence, relative to the manner in which slaves are procured, does by no means warrant this belief, but the reverse.

Mr. James "was told by these same traders "and canoe-boys, that some of the slaves "were sold for debt, and others for crimes."

Obf. Here then is one deduction from the great bulk pirated or surprised.

Mr. James says, "some are such as are "termed prisoners of war. He has seen se-"veral large war canoes come from the inland country with captives in triumph, and fome heads stuck on poles, as trophies."

Obs. Several war-canoes, captains, and trophies of heads, are in my opinion as striking circumstances of war as any reasonable man can defire; therefore, till the contrary appears, I must conclude that these slaves were not only termed, but were really prisoners of war.

Mr. James says, "the Black Traders come down about once a fortnight (generally on a Thursday or Friday) in twenty or thirty canoes, with twenty or thirty slaves in each."

Obs. Taking the medium number of canoes and slaves to be 25, this account shows 625 slaves brought to the same place every other Thursday or Friday for sale. It is not credible that treachery and surprise should be so uniform in their operations; nothing but regular inland markets could produce such regular supplies on the Coast; I must therefore

conclude that these slaves are procured in the course of an established trade.

Mr. James has now pointed out three modes, different from treachery and furprise, by which great numbers of slaves are probably procured; but he professes to believe that the great bulk of slaves is procured by treachery and surprise, consequently his particular evidence throughout weakens his general opinion, instead of supporting it.

Mr. James "has heard from the negroes, "that at times, the way of procuring flaves" by the poorer traders, was to go inland "and take off private families by furprise."

Obf. Admitting (for argument sake) this report to be true, it must be allowed that the expression " at times," cannot be construed always, nor even often; and saying that the " poorer" traders kidnap, implies that the richer traders do not.

Mr. James fays, "the fituation of the "Africans whilft on board is to them fo very intolerable, that they will do any thing to extricate themselves from it."

Obs. Certainly the flaves do sometimes rise upon the crew; five or six turbulent leaders, or one Obeah-man, may contrive to excite the

the rest; but the instances (I understand) become less frequent every year, probably owing to the negroes being undeceived in their idea of our devouring them, to which cause Barbot expressly ascribes the mutinous behaviour of the natives of Ardra, and Whydah.\* Mr. James owns that nothing of this kind happened in any of his voyages. Mr. Heatly fays, the flaves are foon in good fpirits. Mr. Dalzel has often taken the irons off many; and Mr. Penny has even disciplined fome of them on board his ship as marines, and trusted them with arms. Capt. Phillips fays,+ " when we come to fea we take " their irons off, for the only danger of mu-"tiny is whilft they are in fight of the " Coast; but once out of fight, out of mind." And Barbot fays, t " the flaves in the paffage " used to divert themselves on the deck, and " feemed highly pleased." I think this is fufficient to fatisfy my reader that they do

<sup>\*</sup> Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 339.

<sup>+</sup> Churchill's Coll. vol. vi. p. 229; and Capt. Fraser has stated this to be his own practice. See his evidence, Com. of H. of C. Rep. p. 38.

<sup>!</sup> Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 546.

not in general feel their fituation intolerabecome his frequent every ve

Mr. James fays, "on board the Britan-" nia was a woman who refused sustenance;

" fhe fretted herfelf fo much as to discover

" marks of infanity, and contrived to throw

" herself overboard."

in a contract of the thirtes Obs. It is far more likely that a natural infanity occasioned both her obstinancy and fretfulness. Notwithstanding much has been published about the horrors of the passage, and the flaves starving and throwing themselves overboard, this is the only instance to be found in the Committee of the Privy Council's report; and even this may reasonably be imputed to a natural malady, from which nonation or condition of life is exempt.

Mr. James fays, "that the flaves are ferved twice a day with water in a tin pannikin, of fuch dimensions as not to hold quite " half a pint."

Obs. Capt. Heatly says, " a tin pannikin "that holds near a pint." Mr. Arnold admits the measure to be about "half a pint;" and both these gentlemen were in the trade about 1788. Mr. James, who quitted the trade in 1768, takes upon himself to say posipositively, that the pannikin then used held not quite half, a pint, yet he does not mention that the negroes seemed to want more water than was allowed them.

Mr. James fays, "in 1779, being Mafter " of the Hound Sloop of War, he fell in, off the Isle of Pines, with two Guineamen, se commanded by Capts. Ringmaiden and Tack-" fon, who had very imprudently (but whe-"ther wilfully or not he cannot fay) missed " Jamaica. Capt. Nugent gave them chace, " and came up with them. Mr. J. upon " boarding them, found them in great dif-"trefs, both for provisions and water: he "asked the Captains (for they were both " on board one ship) why they did not go " to the watering-place at the Isle of Pines? "They replied, they had attempted to get in. " but got into food water. He then asked "what they had intended to have done with . " their flaves, if they had not fallen in with "the Hound? They replied, to make them " walk the plank (i.e.) to jump overboard. Mr. I. asked them again, Why they did " not turn a number of the flaves on shore " at the Isle of Pines, and endeavour to fave

"the rest? They replied, that in such case they could not have recovered the insutrance, and the rest would have gotten on flore. After this conversation, Capt. Nutransport gent relieved them with provisions and the water."

- Obs. 1. If I rightly understand this story, it means to shew, that these Captains having insured to Jamaica, with the secret design of going to Cuba, were encouraged by the insurance to keep the slaves on board, at the hazard of being at last obliged to put them to death.
- 2. By the 29th G. II. c. 66, § 9, slaves cannot be insured against any loss, except perils of the sea, piracy, insurrection, or capture by the King's enemies; barratry of the master and crew, and destruction by sire; and I have been told, that the policies were most commonly worded in this manner before the act.
- 3. An affidavit made by Capts. Ringmaiden and Jackson appeared some time since in Woodfall's Diary, which contradicts very pointedly most of Mr. J.'s evidence of this transaction. The material parts of this affidavit

davit are subjoined in the note at the bottom of this page.\*

DAVID

\* Thomas Ringmaiden, Captain of the ship Spy, and William Jackson, late Captain of the ship Rose, severally make oath, &c. That being at Tobago when an account was received that the French fleet had taken possession of Grenada, and were hourly expected at Tobago, they took a hafty departure, on the 10th of July, 1779, and in order to avoid the enemies cruifers, kept for fome days pretty close in with the Spanish main, which proved the cause of their being carried much to the westward of what they supposed or expected; and that this was the real cause of their being forced to the leeward of Jamaica, and not either imprudence or bad intention, &c. That the account given by Mr. James, of his boarding them, finding both commanders on board one ship, the questions he asked them, and the answers he received from them, is a false, malicious, and scandalous aspersion of the Commanders of the Spy and Rose, who each for himself fays, that they were not chased, but voluntarily stood for the Hound; and that each Commander was on board his own ship, and both ships ready for an engagement. That upon coming up, and finding the veffel was an English sloop of war, they were not boarded, but went themselves in one of their own boats on board of the Hound, and met with every mark of kindness and affistance from Capt. Nugent. Mr. J. did not ask them the questions, nor receive the answers from them set forth in his evidence. They never heard of

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## DAVID PARRY, Esq.

Governor of Barbadoes, transmitted to Lord Sydney (in a letter, dated 13th of May, 1788) a petition from Capts. Quarrier and Bean \* (then in confinement at the Black town, on the river Camerones) stating that "Capt. Bibby had carried off thirty pawns, "who were the King's and traders sons, daughters, and relations; that the greatest part of the slaves and ivory was paid for their release, which Capt. Bibby refused: "—that the King and traders declare they will pay any goods (or slaves and ivory) to the said Capt. Bibby, or his merchant's

the term—walking the plank—till they saw it in Mr. J.'s evidence, nor should they have known its meaning, if they had not seen Mr. J.'s explanation annexed to it. Each of them was largely concerned in the ships and cargoes, and their property therein far from being sully insured; they should therefore have greatly injured themselves in acting the part of which they stand accused by Mr. James.

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, tit. Barbadoes, No. 3, 4, and 5.

" order, on the arrival of their fons, daughters, and relations, in Camerones river."

Obs. 1. I understand, that by the evidence of Mr. Baillie, given before the Committee of the House of Commons (but not yet printed) it appears, that this was an artful fnare laid by the Black traders, and into which Capt. Bibby unfortunately fell. The fact was . thus: - The Black traders procured from Capt. Bibby goods upon pawns, to a greater value than the pawns were worth. Having gained this advantage, the traders would come to no fettlement with him, fo that he was at last obliged to fail, and take these pawns with him, Upon this the Black Traders feized upon fome other Captains then upon the Coast, and obliged them to ransom themselves, by delivering up thirty pawns more, and to fend for the pawns taken away by Capt, Bibby. The pawns were. returned to the Camerones, but then the Traders refused to redeem them (their fons, daughters, and relations) at any rate; and these same pawns, after being kept upon the Coast fix weeks to no purpose, were in fact fent back and fold in the West Indies, and are now on a plantation in Dominica.

If I have been misinformed, the merits of this accusation must be known; for the Committee of the Privy Council referred the matter to the Attorney General, to consider what steps it might be proper to take towards bringing the offenders to justice.

Gov. Parry states, that "many seamen are "unfairly discharged from the African ships "upon their arrival at Barbadoes; and that "many of these valuable subjects are, from sickness, or the necessity of entering into "foreign service for a maintenance, lost to "the British nation."

Obs. The bad treatment of the seamen has been already considered,\* and I have not the least intention to dispute Gov. Parry's evidence. But as this passage in his letter has been triumphantly cited + as a verification of part of Mr. Clarkson's estimate of the loss of seamen in the slave ships, I think it may be proper to shew that it cannot, with any propriety, be so applied.

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<sup>\*</sup> P. 40.

<sup>+</sup> Mr. Wilberforce's speech, p. 40.

Mr. Clarkson specifies 500 men lest behind in the West Indies, in 1786, and so lost for ever to this country; and he further specifies a certain number (viz. four in every vessel) as the average loss in other years.\*

Gov. Parry's expression, "many of these "valuable subjects are lost to the British na"tion," might be brought to verify any other numbers as well as those stated by Mr. Clarkson, and would equally prove an average loss of three or sive in every vessel, as four, or 300 or 700 lost in 1786, as the 500 stated by Mr. Clarkson.

But the question is not, if any, but how many are thus lost to this country, for nobody can doubt but some seamen are annually lest in the West Indies.

Mr. Clarkson specifies, four from every vessel, and 500 in 1786.

Gov. Parry fays " many."

Such general evidence can never be admitted as a verification of the specific articles in a stated account.

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. C.'s mode of establishing this supposed loss has been considered, p. 40,

## MR. JAMES RAMSAY

Lived in the West Indies from 1762 to 1781, chiefly in St. Kitt's, but occasionally went to the other Windward Islands, Barbadees, St. Vincent, Dominica, &c.

Mr. Ramfay delivered in his evidence in writing, and added, "I have given my rea"foning in my paper, and on the facts I stake
"my character."

Obf. Mr. Ramfay is no more. If any attacks were preparing against his general character, they must now be laid aside. For myfelf, I knew nothing of Mr. Ramfay but from his writings and his evidence, and as to these his death can make no change. If Mr. Ramfay's affertions are contradicted by authors or witnesses of credit, it is not, I presume, to be taken for granted that Mr. Ramfay was right, because he has staked his character on the truth of those affertions. If Mr. Ramfay has used intemperate or arrogant language, fallacious or contradictory reasoning, these have no privilege to pass uncensured, for they may still operate on men's minds; besides, the apparent disposition of a witness, and the manner in which

which he expresses himself, are often as worthy of observation as the evidence itself.

Mr. Ramsay says, "that his brother-in-law "was a Guinea factor; desire of information "led him to attend the sales of slaves; he does not recollect a single sale without some "refuse (sick or emaciated) slaves; perhaps a "fifth of the whole number may be a mode-"rate estimate for the whole trade: sew in-"stances happen where they are within a "tenth; of these in some cases one in three may recover, but in others almost all die "before they become useful."

Obs. Admiral Edwards has said, "that he "has frequently seen Guineamen arrive in the "West Indies, and that the negroes usually "appeared cheerfull;"\*—which, although vague, yet is a sufficient answer to such vague and general information as Mr. Ramsay has here offered: besides, Mr. Ramsay had been writing about the Slave Trade sour or sive years, in which time it is probable he might have produced much better evidence from his brother's books, if he had thought evidence from those books would have served his purpose.

<sup>\*</sup> See his evidence, Priv. C. Rep. part 2, tit. Carrying Slaves to the West Indies.

Mr.

Mr. Ramfay fays, "that when he settled in "St. Kitt's in 1762, the slaves were so spa-"ringly sed, that they were unequal to their work, which rendered frequent supplies from the slave market necessary; wherever they were a little more plentifully sed, they were found able not only to do their own work with ease, but to assist their neightures; and (in the very next line) that their ordinary work hardly allows of any longer respite than four or sive hours in the twenty-four."

Obs. We all know that labour may be increased in some proportion to diet: but if the ordinary work of the negroes in St. Kitt's allowed at most only sive hours rest in the twenty-four,\* how is it possible that a little better feeding should enable them to do their own work with ease, and even help their neighbours? Suppose them by being a little better fed to gain an hour or an hour and a half in the day's work, their rest (according to Mr. Ramsay) would then not exceed six hours and

<sup>\*</sup> Q. Is there ever sufficient light to work in the sields more than sixteen hours? or even sixteen hours? Do the slaves ever work in the night except in crop time?

mafter would deduct from fo short a respite for the purpose of helping his neighbours, what-

Mr. Ramsay says, "that their incessant la-"bour hastens on old age, and that it is ex-"ceeding rare to see a gray-headed negro."

Obj. 1. This last affertion does not in any degree prove the first; for it is not confined to slaves, but extends to free negroes also, who, I am told, never labour in the field, and but little any where; therefore, supposing it were true, it would only tend to shew that negroes do not live so long in tropical countries, as Europeans north of the tropic. This I am inclined to believe is really the fact; though

\* Governor Seton fays, "that the common duration "of negroes lives may be defined at fifty years," and observes, "that warm climates are not so conducive to "long life as the colder climates." Priv. Co. Rep. part 3, tit. St. Vincent, No. 13.—Mr. Brathwaite takes the general period of their lives to be from fifty to fixty. Priv. Co. Rep. part 3, tit. Barbadoes, No. 13.—And Bosman, who resided some years in Africa, says, "most of the negroes live healthful, but seldom "arrive to a great age, a man of fifty (a good old age "here) seized by any sickness, generally leaves the world." P. 95.

vity." Priv. C. Rep. part 3, tit. Erebadnes, No. 13.

JAMAICA.

at the same time it is undeniably proved that many negroes and especially slaves, do attain that period of life at which they must naturally offer

JAMAICA.—" Many negroes live to be very old, "fome to the age of one hundred years: they generally "live longer than the white inhabitants in this climate. "The free negroes feldom live fo long as either the whites or the flaves." Council of the Island. Priv.

Co. Rep. part 3, tit. Jamaica, No. 13.

BARBADOES.—Gov. Parry, and the Council of the Island say, "the negroes live often to an old age, "and in general as long as the white inhabitants or free frees."

Mr. Brathwaite. "I have known two inflances of wery great longevity, and I believe there are many ne-

groes who live to 60, 70, and sometimes 80. Mr. B.

produced books to shew how many instances of longevity." Priv. C. Rep. part 3, tit. Barbadoes, No. 13.

Antique. "Inflances of longevity are by no means uncommon among the negro flaves. Council of the Island. Priv. C. Rep. part 3, tit. Antique, No. 13.

Monraerrat.—"There are few estates which have not negroes of 70 or 80 years of age, and many much older." Council of the Island. Ibid. tit.
Montserrat, No. 13.

GRENADA. "Instances not unfrequent exist of the negroes of 60 or 70 years old, and sometimes even the so and upwards." Legislature of the Island.

" I have

offer gray heads to the fight of any man who does not wilfully that his eyes.

2. If the labour of the flaves was inceffant in Mr. Ramfay's time, there is dufficient reafon to expect it will be fo no longer. The laws lately passed in Jamaica and Grenada have limited the hours of work out of crop time from 5 in the morning to 7 in the evening, with an intermission of two hours and a half for breakfast and dinner. \* I prefume it appropriate with a rounce

"I have feen and had myself many very old ne-" groes." Mr. Spooner, Agent for Grenada and St. Christopher. Ibid. tit. St. Christopher, No. 13.

St. CHRISTOPHER. Slaves are commonly obferved to live as long as either white or free negroes, and fome have reached to the years of 90 or 100. "All effaces have some very aged flaves." Council of the Illand. Ibid. tit. St. Christopher, No. 1 2.

DOMINICA. Mr. Laing. 16 I have known he-" groes above too years of age. I think upon an aveer rage their lives are of equal if not longer duration than the whites in this climate." The French inhabitants fay, " as there are old foldiers and failors among Europeans; fo does one meet with very old flaves." Priv. C. Rep. part 3, tit. Dominica, No. 13.

\* See the Laws of Jamaica and Grenada. Priv. C. Rep. part 3. Upon which the Committee of the Privy Council observe, " that in these Mands the wish to for-

mounding

upon the recommendation of Parliament be adopted by all other islands.

Mr. Ramfay fays, " almost the only instruments used in managing slaves, are the "whip, bean-stick, dungeon, and chains."

obs. All instruments of punishment can be made sufficiently painful; to specify them (as Mr. R. has done) may inflame the passions of the reader; but cannot vary the question. It seems absolutely necessary that a farmer or a manufacturer, whose work is to be done by slaves, whom he must maintain and cannot discharge, should have a power of insticting corporal pu-

Christopher Ibid. tic. St. Christopher, No. 13. ten the riggur of the flaves fituation has manifested itself most decidedly; measures have been devised by " the legislatures of these islands for placing them in a 18 flate of fociety, where they will be entitled to a pro-" tection, that in former times would have been thought " incompatible with the dependence and subordination of flavery." And a most material circumstance in these laws is, that in Jamaica, an account of the due execution of the principal regulations is to be delivered in annually upon oath to the veftry of every parish; and in Grenada, guardians of the flaves are appointed and fworn to fee the laws in favour of the flaves duly executed, to profecute those who shall violate or evade them, to vifit estates, inspect grounds, and examine the principle manager or overfeer upon oath. 1000 10000

mishment. The laws already cited have fixed the number of lashes to 10 or 12, if the owner or his immediate representative is not present, and to 39 if he is present; if the owner thinks this punishment not equal to the offence, he must apply to a magistrate. Should any one be of opinion that no punishment ought to be inflicted without the fanction of a magistrate, he needs only recollect that there are many thousands of negroes daily at work under the management of a few individuals, and he will surely acknowledge the impracticability of such a plan, as well in regard to magistrates as owners and managers.

Mr. Ramfay observes, that—"it is said ne"groes sing and dance and shew signs of con"tent, that makes their state appear enviable
to the happiest spectator. But to talk of
happiness which depends on the will or caprice of another, is a misapplication of the
term.

Obs. 1. The Moralist denies any man to be happy who depends even upon his own will and caprice; the Divine tells us there is no happiness on this side of the grave: but this is philosophy and religion, not fensation. And in spite of these sublime truths, singing, dan-

cing, and mirth will ever be considered as signs of content and happiness. Mr. Campbell has often asked his slaves if they wished to return to Africa? and their common answer was, "No master, me know better."\*

tented in their state of slavery, Mr. Ramfay has acknowledged that they are not fit for emancipation. Since therefore they are for the present happier as slaves than they would be as steemen, and as we commonly pronounce that man to be happy, who has more apparent means of happines—such as health, spirits, competency, &c. than another man, or than he himself had at another time, or would have under other circumstances; there seems to be no impropriety inapplying the term "Happy" to slaves, who seem to enjoy themselves at present and would have sewer means of enjoyment if declared free.

Mr. Ramfay states, "that the slaves are not regularly nor fufficiently cloathed."

obs. The article of cloathing is specifically regulated by the laws already mentioned.

happinels on this lide of the grave; but the

Com. H. of C. Rep. p. 1500 bne vido

P. See his answers to objections to the Abolition bill.

Mr. Ramfay fays, "the necessity of sup"plies is charged on the original disproportion
of the sexes, unhealthiness of situationunhappy disposition of the negresses, and the
necessity of working them hard to answer
the planter's purpose of purchasing them
the planter's purpose of purchasing them
softer such reasons before our country, and
consider them in order."

Obs. 1. I see no effrontery in offering the three first of the above reasons. If there be any effrontery, it will appear to be rather in Mr. Ramsay's dictatorial though unsatisfactory mode of arguing against them.

not know that any of the planters have stated that the necessity of supplies arises from the necessity of over-working the negroes, or from their being in fact over-worked. I shall therefore only remind my reader, that whatever may have been the practice hitherto, the Jamaica and Grenada laws already cited promise sufficient security against any excessive exertion in suture.

Mr. Ramfay fays, "the disproportion of the sexes springs equally from inhumanity and avarice. A few years present labour, "with-

"without charging himself with the mainte"nance of unproductive old age, \* or the in"terruptions of pregnancy, has made the
"planter prefer males to females."

Obs. Male flaves fetch a higher price than females: this feems to be the only preference given by the planters : and in no country do women receive for the same service the same wages as men. It is no where proved that the planters refuse saleable semales at a fair price. But whatever may be the opinion of planters upon this subject, Mr. Ramsay's accusation can never be established; because in truth the disproportion does not spring from inhumanity and avarice in the islands, but from the cuftoms and manners of Africa; this is proved beyond contradiction: + and it argues great want of information or candour in Mr. Ramfay mot to have taken notice that it was at least a question, whether an equal number of

<sup>\*</sup>Why should an unwillingness to maintain unproductive old age, influence the planters to prefer males to semales? do the women become incapable of labour earlier than the men? in old age, I should think the women might be more useful on a plantation than the men.

See Mr. Eldrid's Evidence, p. 68.

males and females could be procured on the coast of Africa.

Mr. Ramfay fays, "to unhealthiness I al-"low very little; our fugar colonies contain

" 4,000,000 of acres; 240,000 acres of good

" land well cultivated, would annually pro-

"duce more fugar than all our islands fend to market; and furely fuch a proportion con-

" veniently fituated might be felected."

Obs. Did Mr. R. mean that Commissioners should survey the islands and pronounce which lands should and which should not be cultivated? that the latter should be put under an interdict and left waste, and the former portioned out among the planters according to some new rule of equity invented for the occasion? One can hardly suppose a man to have seriously thought of so unjust and absurd a mode of sporting with the property of others, and yet the above passage does seem to point to such a plan.

Mr. Ramsay says, "perhaps in every situa-"tion the productions of a district are a na-"tural antidote to its unhealthiness."

Obs. Most certainly not. No effectual antidote, either in or out of the districts, has yet been found against the aguish atmospheres of the

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wilds of Kent, the hundreds of Essex, and some parts of Lincolnshire.

Mr. Ramfay fays, "every country is ca"pable of not only supporting but of increa"fing its number of inhabitants."

Obs. There is not perhaps in the whole range of political inquiry a more disputable pofition than what Mr. R. has here laid down in all the peremptoriness of a clear and known truth. Such a general affertion, unsupported by proof or argument, is most fitly answered by as general a denial. I will however request my readers to confider, if it is probable that the districts just mentioned do or can by any management increase or even support their population? Or if any precautions could effectually obviate the prevalence of epidemic diseases in fuch a country as Antigua, which has been known to experience a drought for feven fuccessive seasons,\* and to lose in one year a fifth of all its negroes by the dysentery. +

Mr.

See Priv. C. Rep. Part 5, Antigua, Append. C. See Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, Antigua, A. No. 15. Mr. Campbell had 200 flaves on an estate in the healthiest part of Grenada. From 1766 to 1786 this stock did not diminish above ten slaves. But in 1786 he lost 16 slaves and 4 only were born; and in 1787 he lost 25

Mr. Ramsay says, "a particular planter of "St. Kitt's is said to have proved to the Privy "Council the necessity of supplies from the unhealthiness of a plantation belonging to himself. I had the care of that plantation be fore he purchased it, and it had then no such "character; but never since it belonged to him has it been in circumstances to increase "from births."

Obs. Mr. Ramsay's evidence would have been much more satisfactory, if, instead of censuring the management of this plantation under its present owner, he had proved by his accounts, that during his own management the negroes were healthy and their number increased by births. Mr. R.'s silence upon these points, the proofs of which must have been within his own knowledge and power, raises a strong presumption against his evidence.

Mr. Ramsay says, "to any general unnatu"ral disposition in negresses, I give a flat de"nial; it is blasphemy against nature to sup"pose it. That wretches who are ill treated
of his stoutest slaves in a few weeks by a liver complaint,
and all the neighbouring estates suffered equally. Mr.
Campbell believed this disorder must have been occasioned by the climate. Com. of H. of C. Rep. p. 157.
See also Mr. Baillie's evidence. Ibid. p. 184.

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"for being pregnant should wish not to be so,
"and that they should have little pleasure in
"cherishing a child which must shortly be re"figued to ill treatment, may easily be imagi"ned. But they still are good mothers, ex"cept where they have been suffered to ac"company with profligate sailors or white
"men."

Obs. 1. If there is any concurrent testimony in support of Mr. Ramsay's charge, that the women are ill treated on account of their being pregnant, it has escaped my notice, notwithstanding a careful examination of the report. Dr. Adair fays, "This imputation is equally " false and malignant; for one flave born in " the colonies, is equal in value to two of the " fame age imported: and fo conscious are " the planters of this truth, that the value of " a female flave is always enhanced by the "number of her children."\* These two facts feem open to a very eafy proof or refutation. Supposing them true, they must go a great way towards vindicating the planters from any charge of general aversion or inattention to the breeding of flaves.

<sup>\*</sup> See Priv. Co. Rep. Part 3, Antigua, A. No. 11,

1 2. Mr.

2. Mr. Ramfay affigns ill treatment as the only impediment to the natural increase of the flaves. Mr. Stuart (alone I believe) agrees in this opinion; and Mr. Nicolls thinks the working the women too hard, does in some degree impede the natural increase.\* But Mr. Quier (a medical man) fays, "He has met with no " cases of abortion which he could fairly as-" cribe to ill usage or excessive labour. Gov. Parry fays, "The work of the women is lef-" fened as they approach towards the time of "child-birth; and the legislature of Grenada " speaks to the same effect." + Dr. Adair fays, "The natural increase is impeded by the " indolence of the women during the last " months of gestation." And Mr. Anderson (a medical man) fays, "The mother, during " the time of her being a nurse, is commonly " allowed to turn out to labour an hour later, " and to leave off an hour earlier." T Surely " Mr. Ramfay's opinion is strongly impeached by this evidence.

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, tit. Further evidence respecting the treatment of slaves, &c.

See also to this point, Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, tit. Jamaica, A. No. 15.

<sup>‡</sup> See the answers from each Island, Priv. C. Rep., Part 3, A. No. 15.

3. Mr. Ramfay takes not the least notice of the general licentiousness of manners which prevails among the negroes; yet the agents, physicians, legislatures, and governors of every island, all agree in stating too early, promiscuous and immoderate venery to be the most obvious and principal impediment to the natural increase.\*

4. I have met with no charge of a general unnatural disposition against the negresses; but there is strong evidence; of their indiscretion

\* See the evidence from each Island, in the Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, A. No. 15.

+ Gov. PARRY .- " It is a common practice

among the women after labour or violent dancing,

to bathe in cold water, fleep on the earth, and com-

" mit other irregularities, by which means they con-

tract disorders which obstruct generation. The

a greatest part of the negro mothers treat their chil-

ee dren with little care and attention in diet and cloath-

ing. It is not uncommon with them, when in their

" very violent passions, to take their children up and

" dash them on the ground; and they altogether exer-

cise a severity towards them, far greater, in propor-

" tion to their tender age, than any they experience

" from their masters." Barbadoes, A. No. 15, 17.

Dr. ADAIR. " One cause of the mortality of

co young flaves is the inattention of the mother, whose

" natural affection for her offspring does not feem in

tion and ill management, both with respect to

" general so ardent as that of white women." Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, Antigua, A. No. 11.

Mr. Quier, Practitioner in Physic.—" Thinks abortions rather frequent among the negro women, and ascribes them to their promiscuous intercourse with the other sex. That from the frequent shifting of the connection between the sexes, many children are lost by their mothers neglect and want of maternal affection, which they seldom retain for their children by a former husband. That the custom of carrying children into the field with the precautions now used is by no means hurtfull. That many infants are lost by the custom among the negresses of not shifting the cloaths for the first three days after birth, and gi-

ving it for the first week the milk of a woman who has a child at her breast a year old or perhaps older."

Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, Jamaica, No. 8.

Mr. Chisholme, Practitioner in Physic.——

"Agrees with Mr. Quier, as to the bad management

of children among the negroes, and adds, it may

be supposed the remedy is obvious, as it will be

only directing a greater attention to be paid to

dressing and cleanliness of the infant during the

period above alluded to. But those who are much

conversant with the negroes, will be aware of the

difficulty, if not impossibility, of putting this in

practice in a degree sufficient to answer the pur
pose: such is the ignorance, obstinacy, and inatten
tion of the negroes, that he believes the evil can ne
ver be wholly remedied, while we are obliged to em-

" ploy

themselves and their children, and also of their fometimes procuring abortions.\*

Mr. Ramsay considers the ability of white men to labour in the West Indies "as fully "proved by Robertson in his Tracts, as well "as by reference to the original settlement in "the islands; and that white handicrast men "do in sact now labour more hardly in the "West Indies in less savourable circumstances,

" ploy negroes as nurses." Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, Jamaica, Appen. No. 6.

\* Dr. Adair, in enumerating the causes which impede the natural increase, mentions "the frequent attempts to procure abortion in the younger semales, "with a view of preserving their persons longer in request." Priv. Co. Rep. Part 3, tit. Antigua, A. No. 11.

The P. Labat, who managed for some years a sugar work belonging to his order in Martinico says, "most of the negroe women are very skilful in procuring abortions, and know certain simples which will produce that effect with wonderful facility." Labat. Voy, aux Isles, Part. 2, ch. 6.

The Author of these Observations has seen a letter written above forty years ago, wherein an overseer tells his principal, that "they cannot expect more births "unless they could prevent the women playing tricks with themselves." This seems to allude to this practice of procuring abortions.

" than with proper management \* it is neces" fary to do in the cultivation of the sugar" cane."

Obs. 1. I have not been able to procure Robertson's Tracts, nor do I know whether it is a book of any credit. I have examined Du Tertre, Ligon, and the History of the British Empire in America; in none of these is there any direct evidence of the sugar-cane having been ever cultivated in the West Indies by the Europeans, and the reasoning of Messrs. Fuller and Spooner almost demonstrates the contrary.

2. Many

\* By proper management Mr. Ramfay means, that the men should work only in the morning and evening, and be kept from new rum. See his objections, with answers, p. 43. Mr. Ramfay, when before the Privy Council, judged well in not avowing as a ground of his opinion, so improbable and (one may say) childish a supposition, as is that of keeping day labourers from new rum in a country where they can get no beer, or old rum, except an allowance from the planter for whom they work, but where new rum is always to be bought for money.

\* Mr. Spooner fays, "Ligon (who wrote the ac"count himself) went to Barbadoes in 1647, and left
"it in 1650, and says, the sugar-cane had been intro"duced there from Pernambuco about five years before
his arrival." Priv. C. Rep. Part 5, tit. Grenada and
St. Christopher's, C. No. 7 and 8.

2. Many of our admirals,\* all the agents, legislatures, and governors of the islands, give an express opinion that it may reasonably be deemed impossible. † And this opinion seems to be fully warranted by the following facts:

—1. In England the thermometer very seldom rises so high as 90 degrees in the sun; in Jamaica the mesne heat of the shade is 80, and in the sun it is often from 15 to 30 degrees higher. —2. By the returns of eleven regiments on the peace establishment in the West Indies, it appears that the loss on 4294 men

Mr. Fuller gives an account from Ligon of a purchase he made in Barbadoes, of the moiety of 500 acres of land, with the stock, consisting of 28 white servants, three Indian women and children, 96 negroes, and some cattle: of the land, 200 hundred acres were in canes; and as 200 acres of cane land could not be cultivated by 28 white servants, he reasonably infers that the 96 negroes were employed in the canes, and the whites as overseers, artificers, &c. and it is to be remembered, that this was only twenty-three years at most after our setting foot in the island. Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, Jamaica Appendix.

\* Lord Rodney, Sir Peter Parker, Adm. Barrington, Sir Joshua Rowley, Adm. Hotham. Priv. C. Rep.

Part 3, tit. Farther Evidence, &c.

+ See the answers from the islands. A. No. 37, 39.

amounted to 1041, or nearly one fourth in two years.

3. Were it possible to cultivate the islands by white men, it is not to be supposed that Parliament would permit the population of the West Indies to be supported by annual emigrations of some thousands of labourers from this country.

Mr. Ramsay, in a calculation of some length, (founded on the prime cost, loss in seasoning, maintenance, &c.) has undertaken to shew, that the planters can never cultivate their estates to advantage by buying slaves from Africa, for that they incur a loss of about 100l. per annum on every ten slaves so procured.

Obs. 1. I shall not enter into the particulars of this calculation, which is clearly imperfect, inasmuch as it states only the expence of purchasing, and omits the expence of breeding: not that I mean to blame Mr. R. for not having given such a comparative statement; he probably thought with Gov. Parry,\* " that it " might be wrong, for obvious reasons, to in-" quire which is the cheapest plan, that of

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. Part 5, tit. Barbadoes, C. No. 6.

- "breeding or purchasing negroes to keep up "the stock."
- 2. With respect to the result of the above calculation—admitting it to be just, it only proves that West-Indian estates are not so profitable as they have been commonly thought. According to Messirs. Fuller, Long, and Chifholme, they do not clear upon an average above 41. per cent. to the proprietors \* (that is in Jamaica) which is a very low interest confidering the hazardous circumstances under which they are held. Perhaps the price of fugar has not advanced in proportion to the expence of cultivation; and perhaps this country cannot afford that it should: but be that as it may, certain it is that very many estates in the islands have maintained their owners for a long course of years in ease and opulence; though it is equally certain, that not one estate in fifty (I might perhaps fay an hundred) keeps up its stock of negroes without purchasing.
- 3. The English planters are not the only people who differ with Mr. Ramsay upon this point; the Dutch planters in 1788 petitioned

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. Part 5, tit. Jamaica. C. No. 1, 2, 3.

the States General for leave to import negroes in foreign bottoms,\* stating the "defective " fupplies obtained from Dutch ships, and that " the only means of prosperity, the pivot, upon which all turns, confifts in the importation " of negroes at a cheaper price." + The States of Holland and Friefland rejected the prayer of the petition: but observe, "that though a "ftrict adherence to the prohibition of im-" porting flaves in foreign bottoms, would " probably ere now have desolated a great part " of the plantations, yet as effectual means " must be taken to restore the African trade, " this contraband importation of flaves must "no longer be allowed. That the Slave Trade " cannot be looked upon as an object subject to temporary measures; for the existence of " the colonies and the prosperity of the plan-" ters will always depend on the greater or " less supply of slaves; as the advantages de-" riving from them to the Mother Country " will always be greater or less in proportion " as the Slave Trade be exclusively carried on

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. Part 6, tit. Holland.

They state the lowest price at the last sale to have been 800 gilders, (about 651.) and some slaves sold at 1100, exclusive of a duty of 101. per cent.

"by the subjects of the state." This explicit declaration of the opinions and intentions of the States, not only impeaches Mr. Ramsay's reasoning, but affords some seasonable instruction to this country upon the general subject of the Slave Trade.

Mr. Ramfay fays, "wherever there is good "treatment, plantations are easily kept up; "where there is want of attention, they fall back and require supplies. The state of the slaves will always discover a change in the "management."

Obs. In support of so positive and unqualified an affertion, one should have expected an accurate and authentic statement of the increase and decrease of negroes upon various plantations, under various circumstances; instead of this, Mr. R. gives six instances only, not one of which is perfectly satisfactory or applicable; but the reader shall judge for himself.

"Mills Nichola Town plantation had care-"ful managers from 1763 to 1781. In 1763 "the negroes were 208; in the last 234."

Obs. If none were purchased, which should have been stated, this estate did increase under good management, but does not appear to have

decreased under a former manager. The spot may be particularly healthy, or the negroes well chosen or well disposed.\*

"Mr. Molineux's plantation, in 1763, had "about 200 flaves; in 1773, 217; in 1779 they funk to 213: in this last period several "old negroes died off; about this time the "manager lost his wife; and in 1781 the flaves were reduced to 203."

Obs. What hindered Mr. Ramsay being as well informed of the age of the negroes which died in this last period, as of those which died from 1773 to 1779? Those which died between 1779 and 1781, might have been old too.

"Mr. Madan's plantation in 1765 had 158 "flaves; about 1775, a careful young man, "a furgeon, became manager: the flaves, in "1781, were 172."

\* In this country it is not unusual to see in a circle of five miles some one village remarkable for being more neat, orderly, and sober, than its neighbours, without any affignable cause.

I have been told that a particular gang of negroes is fometimes distinguishable in the same manner, which cannot but be savourable to their natural increase.

Obs. This clearly proves nothing; for no enumeration of the flaves was taken in 1775, at the time the surgeon became manager, but only one ten years before, and another six years after; consequently, it is impossible to know whether they have increased or decreased during his management.

"Lord Romney's plantation, in 1763, had "about 500 flaves; it has not, fince that "time, (except it has been very lately) had "a recruit of above 15 or 20 flaves; and "had population been the object, fuch are "its peculiar advantages, that the number "might at this time have been double."

Obs. Mr. Ramsay had better have told us what those advantages are, and what the number of slaves actually is, than what it might have been. At present nothing more appears, than that there were 500 slaves in 1763, and that 15 or 20 have been bought.

"Mr. Crooke's plantation, in 1776, had "157 flaves: in 1772, under his own care, "it had increased to 180: under other care "it had, in 1781, fallen back to 157."

Obs. Taking it for granted, that the total 157 comprehended negroes of all ages (and otherwise the statement is fallacious); I have

no difficulty in afferting, that the increase to iso must be by purchases. I have heard, that the population of America increases with wonderfull rapidity, but never met with any well-authenticated account of it; but the West Indies have never been supposed so favourable to population as Europe; and I may safely say, that in no part of Europe does a population of 157 produce in six years an increase of 23, and I believe not often half that number: \*but if the increase during Mr. Crook's management was made by purchases, it is nothing to the purpose.

"Mr. Thomas's plantation in 1762 had about 200 flaves, and then required an an-

<sup>\*</sup> The author of these observations has got accurate accounts of the number of inhabitants, bitths, and butials, in eight parishes of different extents, in a healthy county, for the last twenty years: among these the greatest increase is only 27 in 10 years, upon a population of 195; agreeable to which result, 157 should produce an increase of not quite 22 in ten years, instead of 23 in six years. One of the suppositions on which Kerseboom calculates the probability of life in Holland, is, that the births are to the total of inhabitants, as 1 to 35. I have reason to think this estimate rather too low for this country, where the births are perhaps as 1 to 33.

"nual supply of 15 or 20, on account of the sales being over-worked. In 1763 a new manager came: in 1765 he had 183 slaves; in 1711 there were 154, but there had been none bought, and the smaller num- ber made more sugar than the original num- ber of 200."

Obs. 1. This is a very equivocal instance of the beneficial effects of good management. No negroes having been bought between 1762 and 1765, at this period the new manager may fairly be faid to have started, with 183 feafoned flaves.\* From 1765 to 1781, the manager demanded no fupply of flaves, and fo far the owner made a confiderable faving; but then the number of slaves decreased 29 in fixteen years, which shews that the stock under this good management could not fupport itself by breeding. Mr. Ramfay, indeed, being aware of this objection, adds, that " most of the Africans being now dead, it " may be supposed that the stock has begun " to increase;" but I have shewn that the

<sup>\*</sup> Slaves are commonly deemed seasoned, after the two first years, and then are as long lived as the Creoles or Europeans, Priv. C. Rep. Grenada and Dominica, A. No. 13.

Africans live as long as Creoles; therefore, there feems to be no ground for this supposition of increase; besides, as Mr. R. did not give his evidence until 1787, and seems to have had sufficient means of informing himself, I think he would have continued his account of this plantation, from 1781 to 1787, if it would have supported his doctrine.

2. With respect to the reduced number of slaves making more sugar than the original 200, it is not stated that they did so through all the sixteen years; but if this was the case, one or two very savourable seasons would account for it, for the produce of those years would raise the average of the crops for the whole time. It appears, therefore, that of these six instances the two sirst are imperfectly stated;—the three next prove nothing; and the last cuts both ways, i. e. it shews the advantage of good management, and the improbability of a stock being supported by breeding.

Mr. Ramsay says, "it would be an invidious task to point out plantations where
neglect and indiscreet treatment have reduced the number of slaves."

Obs. 1. But there would have been nothing invidious in pointing out any number of plantations where good management had produced a natural increase of slaves.

Mr. R. might also have produced accounts of the state of any plantations which had been under his care, and have reasoned from the effects of his own management.

Here again, as in p. 123, Mr. Ramsay's filence lessens the weight of his evidence.

Mr. Ramsay says, " scanty food, severe " treatment, and indiscreet labour always pro- " duced sickness and loss of lives."

Obs. The question is not whether these circumstances will do mischief (for who can doubt that?) but whether the negroes can, with reasonable food, discipline, and labour, support their numbers by births, in spite of unhealthiness of particular situations, and the notorious intemperance and dissoluteness of their manners; and by no rule of evidence can Mr. Ramsay's testimony be said to have established this point.

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# Report of the Committee of the Assembly of Jamaica.

The Committee states, that " from the " examination of Mr. Lindo it appears, that " out of 7873 negroes configned to him in " 1786, 1787, and 1788, and reported at the "Custom-house, no less than 363 perished "in the harbour before the day of fale." "That from the books of the Receiver-Ge-" neral, and other fufficient authorities, there " have been imported from 1655 (the time of "the conquest of the island) to December, " 1787, negroes 676,276, of which, ac-" cording to the above proportion, 31,181, "will appear to have died on ship-board " after entry, though they stand in the books " of the office, as constituting a part of the " numbers supposed to have been distributed " among the planters, and destroyed by neg-" lect, excessive labour, or other mal-treat-" ment."

Obs. 1. The books of one factor, for only three years, stating a loss on no greater a number than 7873, cannot be admitted as fuffi-

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fufficient data for estimating the loss to have been in the same proportion on 676,276, imported in the course of 123 years.

2. Mr. Lindo's memorandum states the loss between entry and sale on board the Elliot (entered April 17th 1788) to have been 147 out of 250. This so far exceeds the loss on board any other ship, that unless some nearly similar instances can be given, it may be looked upon as a case standing quite alone, and ought not, therefore, to form part of an average loss of so small a number as 363.

3. Mr. Lindo's books should have been stated as far back as they have been kept in this manner. The books of the other factors do not distinguish between the numbers imported and the numbers sold, and therefore throw no light upon the question.

The Committee fays, "this allowance (viz"the above loss between entry and sale) we
do on many accounts conceive to be moderate."

Obs. But the Committee apparently speak as parties, and to exculpate themselves; consequently, no opinion of theirs, sounded on documents not produced, can be admitted as evidence.

CAPT.

## CAPT. SMITH

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Of the Navy, served in the West Indies in 1779, as Master, and speaks to what he observed during the space of about a year.

Capt. Smith fays, "the ill-treatment of "the flaves is too well known, and too uni"verfal to be denied: that the first senti"ment entertained by a stranger of a gang
"of negroes going to work, or at work, is 
neither more nor less than of a drove of 
cattle going to Smithfield, or cattle working 
under unmerciful drivers:—that he has seen 
cruel punishments for trifling causes, and 
that it is no uncommon thing for a negroe 
to lie by a week after punishment."

Obs. 1. As far as this evidence is descriptive of the general ill-treatment of the slaves, it is opposed by the evidence of Lord Rodney, Sir Peter Parker, &c.\*

2. With

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, tit. further evidence, &c.

LORD RODNEY—"I speak from experience since 1761, and to all the islands, but particularly Jamaica. I

<sup>&</sup>quot; never faw any other than humane and proper beha-

<sup>&</sup>quot; viour to them. I never faw any instance of cruelty.

2. With respect to the cruelty of the punishments; since Capt. Smith left the West Indies,

The punishments inflicted are not too severe. If a flave bear the marks of having been flogged, the price of him is sunk one half. The negroes new ver appeared to me upon any plantation to be over- worked."

SIR PETER PARKER—" I commanded on the Ja"maica station between 4 and 5 years. I not only
"never saw, but never heard of any instance of cruelty
"exercised towards the slaves."

ADMIRAL BARRINGTON—" I was stationed at Barbadoes about three months, and went on shore every
morning, and most frequently visited the plantations
that lay near the shore; and I never saw any act of
cruelty exercised upon the negroes; nor are they
over-worked in any respect."

ADMIRAL HOTHAM—" I have resided about five years in the West Indies; about one year I remained at Jamaica, and was frequently on shore: I never saw a single punishment insticted in Jamaica—In the Windward Islands I saw three instances of negroes punished by whipping, but not severely. I never observed the negroes were over-worked in any respect."

SIR GEORGE YOUNG—" Has been at different times "a great deal in all the islands; used to go frequently to see the negroes at work in the fields: they did not appear to him in general ill-treated.

COL.

Indies, laws have been enacted in Jamaica and Grenada\* (and I take it for granted that they will be adopted in the other islands) which seem well calculated to redress this and other grievances. Unless, therefore, it be shewn that those laws are not duly executed, or cannot answer their intended purposes, it is fair to say, that evidence of ill-treatment prior to those laws, is no evidence of the treatment and situation of the negroes at present.

COL. HENDERSON fays—" So far as we may credit information from the fensible and intelligent part of these slaves (after they have experienced their situation in Jamaica) they consider their removal from Africa as an happy event." Priv. C. Rep. Part 19 Special Information, No. 12.

MR. POPLETT, who resided between four and five years in Africa, says,—" With respect to their [the start sta

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<sup>\*</sup> See page 117.

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## DR. ANDREW SPAARMAN,

A native of Sweden, and Professor of Phyfic, was at Senegal, Goree, and Shual about five months, viz. from the end of August, 1787, to the end of January, 1788.

Obf. Dr. Spaarman appears to have resided entirely among the French, and on a part of the Coast where the English have carried on very little (if any) trade in slaves since the

last peace.

Dr. Spaarman fays, "when the Kings of the country want flaves to purchase goods, they send their horsemen in the night to the villages, to make as many slaves as they can. The King of Barbessin told him, that he was going to send out a party to make flaves, as he wanted brandy. Dr. Spaarman saw the party set out and return with fome slaves."

Obs. Dr. Spaarman need not have represented this mode of procuring flaves to be a general practice, unless he had known more instances than one;—however, the practice seems to be not uncommon on this part of

the

the Coast, and has been observed upon in another place.\*

Dr. Spaarman fays, " wars are frequently " entered into, for the purpose of procuring " flaves. When he was at Senegal, flaves " being much wanted, the Moors were much " encouraged by the French traders to make " war on the negroes, which they did, and 4 feveral negroes were brought in, more or 46 less wounded."

Obs. 1. Here Dr. Spaarman again infers a frequent practice from a particular instance; but if wars are so frequently entered into to procure flaves, why do we not meet with fome clear inftances of fuch wars? Accounts of many wars in Africa from motives of revenge, ambition, and even policy, are to be found, both in books; and in evidence; 1 but I deny that a fingle instance has been

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<sup>\*</sup> P. 92. In a to the a forminio only + Leon. Afr. Op. Ed. Elz. 1604, p. 654, 655. Churchill's Coll. vol. i. p. 626, 711, 717. Bofm. p. 12, 20, 61. Barbot. Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 188, 351. Labat. Afr. Occid, vol. iv. p. 131. Des Marchais, 

<sup>1</sup> See the evidence of Messrs. Devaynes and Matthews. Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves.

proved of a war entered into for the purpose of making flaves. In the affair at Calabar, the two parties were not at peace when the ships arrived, but in a state of mutual jealousy between peace and war, which prevented them going to the inland markets, and induced the English captains to have recourse to the cruel stratagem already related.\* And with respect to this war mentioned by Dr. Spaarman,-the encouragement given by the French is by no means imputable to the Slave Trade, but to a very different cause, as appears by the evidence of Mr. Wadstrom, a native of Sweden, who was at Senegal at the same time with Dr. Spaarman, and went out with him (as I apprehend) in order to accompany him in a journey through Africa. Mr. Wadstrom fays, "they were prevented undertaking this jour-" ney by the wars between the negroes and "the moors, and the moors and the French, "who claimed a right of extending the ex-" clufive privilege, which they had always " enjoyed for the gum trade, to every fort of " trade on the river Senegal; and had thereby " greatly offended all the inhabitants of that

<sup>\*</sup> See Capt. Hall's evidence, p. 80.

"country."\* It feems to have been a plan concerted between the moors and the French to engross and divide the whole trade of the river between themselves, and the other inhabitants thought proper to resist it.

Dr. Spaarman fays, "the number of persons "kidnapped is considerable; he saw two in"stances, and believes it to be a common "practice."

Obs. Dr. Spaarman seems to form his opinions upon very slight grounds.

Dr. Spaarman fays, "another way of ma-"king flaves is by accufations, frequently "false."

Obs. Captain Deane and Mr. Gandy have spoken to the same effect; and as Dr. Spaarman has given no particular information upon this point, it is sufficient to refer my reader to p. 51 and 78.

Dr. Spaarman says, "the natives have some fort of industry which by example might be increased; they might be brought to regular labour by degrees; he thinks this might be accomplished by planting colonies among them, and paying them for their labour."

See Mr. Wadstrom's evidence. Priv. Co. Rep. Part 1, tit. Slaves.

Obs. 1. That the negroes can be brought to regular labour without compulsion, either in Africa or the West Indies, is mere conjecture. As far as experience and the opinion of numbers may have weight, the thing seems improbable in the extreme.\* Encouragement and example have been tried without effect.

2. Dr. Spaarman (with Sir G. Yonge and Mr. Wadstrom) recommends colonization: but the prudence of founding a colony in Africa, with a view of improving the natural produce as a substitute for the Slave Trade, seems full as doubtful as the prospect of its success.

The colonists must be sufficiently numerous to cultivate and prepare either cotton, indigo, or whatever article is first attempted, themselves, that the natives may learn the whole process, and be witnesses of the increase and profit. In a climate so fatal to Europeans it is difficult to say what number would suffice for this purpose. Barbot says, "Few Europeans will venous ture to repair to Guinea, unless encouraged by large salaries; sew can escape the malig"nant influence of the air, and the heats are

See Mr. Botham's evidence, p. 30, 56.

"intolerable." Labat fays nearly the fame thing, and informs us, that M. Brue loft in the fix first years of his government, 157 out of 180 Europeans. + Phillips tells us, that " in Whydah the heat of the fun is so violent, " that an Englishman can scarce walk half a " mile without fainting; and that he landed " thirty foldiers at Cape Coast Castle in as good health as he took them on board; but " in two months almost half were dead, and " the furvivors foarce able to carry their com-" rades to the grave." At Corifco (an island between the rivers Gabon and Camerones) the Dutch in 1649 did in fact fettle a colony of forty or fifty men to fow maiz and other corn, that their ships might be supplied there instead of going to C. Lopez. This colony succeeded in raising corn, &c. but the air proving very bad, and near half of the men having died of malignant distempers, the remainder destroyed the fettlement, and returned to Mina. 8 By an account of all the persons sent to the African fettlements by the Company from 1751 to

<sup>\*</sup> Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 32, 77, 170.

<sup>+</sup> Afr. Occident. vol. iv. p. 290, vol. v. p. 333.

Churchill's Coll. vol. vi. p. 205, 215.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 389.

1788, it appears that out of 1080 there died in the first year 333,\* of which 94 were governors, factors, or writers, who may be fupposed more likely and able to avoid the bad effects of the climate than labouring colonists: could be. By the returns of the troops fent to Africa it appears, that out of 2383 effectives, there were lost in less than three years by fickness only; and without a shot fired, no less than 1649, above two thirds of the whole.+ Mr. Devaynes, though his opinion is favourable to the probability of improving the natural produce, by encouraging the natives, yet observes with much candour, that " perhaps " one reason why no colony has been attempted is, that the climate is very prejudicial to " Europeans, and that they would not be in-"duced to flay there." to the same same and same and

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<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. Part 1, tit. Detached Pieces of Evidence, No. 6.

dence, No. 6.

Ibid. I believe the fiege of Gibraltar did not cost so many men, though the place was completely invested for three years and a half, and the garrison (with two reinforcements sent at different times) consisted of 7134 men. See Drinkwater's Hist. of the Siege.

Priv. C. Rep. Part 1, tit. Produce. Ilidatud

But climate is not all, the disposition and opinions of the natives form a more dangerous obstacle to colonization.

It appears from a great variety of authors and evidence, that the negroes are malicious, intractable, and thievish ;\* revengefull, turbulent, and false to their most solemn engagements.+ They have a perfect idea that the foil is their absolute property, that our forts and factories are built upon fufferance only, that they can at any time greatly diffress us by flutting up the passes and cutting off all provisions and trade, which they formerly were very ready to do upon any dispute; 1 and have more than once furprized the European fettlements, and massacred the people. § Labat, who points out different spots as fit for new fettlements, observes at the same time, that "there is no relying upon the faith of the

<sup>\*</sup> Churchill's Coll. vol. i. p. 749. Bosman, 13. Labat. Afr. Occid. vol. iii. p. 175. Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 34.

<sup>+</sup> Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 100, 462. vol. vi. p. 195. Bosman, p. 101.

<sup>‡</sup> Bosman, p. 13, 52, 57, 62. Churchill's Coll. p. 176, 181, 350.

<sup>§</sup> Bosman, p. 16. Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 428.

Blacks; that it would be highly imprudent to have a fettlement furrounded by them "wholly or in part; for that the European goods in the warehouses are a very strong " temptation to them to massacre all the whites, if they could hope to do it with im-" punity."\* Mr. Poplett, who recommends a colony to be planted at the fouthern mouth of the Gambia, fays, "the town must be " fecured by a ditch, otherwise the natives " would kill the colonists for their tools."+ It further appears that the natives are equally jealous of their rights over the trade of their country, and impatient of its being restrained or even extended in any manner not conformable to their own notions and customs. No trade can be opened without buying a permiffion, duties are exacted, and the value of European commodities fixed. We have feen that attempts to extend the cultivation of tobacco and cotton have been made in vain. In 1694, the Dutch at Vrendenberg, having undertaken to open a mine within half a mile of their

<sup>\*</sup> Labat's Afr. Occid. vol. ii. p. 233. vol. iii. p. 353.

See Mr. Poplett's evidence. Priv. C. Rep. Part 1,
tit. Produce.

<sup>‡</sup> Page 57.

fort, were engaged in an expensive war and at last obliged to desist.\* An English agent had orders to make a fimilar effay at Agonna, but did not venture to attempt it. + One Moucheron, a Dutchman, built a fort in Angra-Bay, (2 Deg. N. L.) in order to carry on a trade with the Angra blacks, but the Gabon blacks furprifed the fort and maffacred the Dutch and fome Angra traders who were there. † In the Biffao Islands, the Portugueze bought a grant to build a fort, but the natives took care to keep the trade open. § And Mr. Dalzell tells us, that " fome white traders fet-"tled at a distance from the forts, have been " obliged to abandon their fettlements by the "disputes and depredations of the natives." Now taking all these circumstances into consideration, can we expect that in fuch a climate and among fuch a people, a colony can prosper or even exist, which will require a peaceable and exclusive possession of several acres of land.

led M. d'Aubencul, Whole work is 

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 55.

Churchill's Coll. vol. v. p. 389.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 428.

A See his evidence. Priv. C. Rep. Part 1, tit. Produce. C. No. 1, 2, 9.

to be cultivated in great part if not wholly for the first three or four years by Europeans, settled there for the apparent and avowed purposes—1st. Of abolishing a trade to which (whether just or unjust) the natives are perfectly reconciled, and by which they at present procure, (and may continue to procure from other nations) such European goods as they want,—And 2dly. To introduce a new trade, that aims at making the natives submit to regular labour, from which they are so notoriously averse?

## MR. STUART

Has been in South Carolina, Santa Cruz, St. Eustatia, and St. Kitt's. "Thinks the treat"ment of the negroes more severe in our
"islands than in the French or Danish."

Obs. This was formerly the received opinion even (I believe) among the English planters; but M. d'Auberteuil, whose work is of the best authority, has shewn the contrary with respect to the French.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Vol. i. p. 45. Cited in Priv. C. Rep. Jamaica, Ap. C. No. 1, 2, 3.

Mr. Stuart says, "The negroes increase in "Carolina, though the climate is more un-

" healthy to them than that of our islands."

Obs. From what documents does it appear that the negroes do increase in Carolina?

In what respects is the climate more unhealthy?

Mr. Stuart states, "That Mr. Irwin sold "17 negroes to Gen. Mackintosh in 1777, and it is a fact that they are increased to 36 in less than 11 years,"

Obs. An hundred such instances would not throw the smallest light on the question of a general increase. It is very possible that 17 seasoned, healthy, well assorted subjects, known to one another and in the prime of life, have reared 10 children in 11 years; but 17 such slaves may be the slower of a plantation containing 150; and their offspring is to counterbalance the age, infancy, and barrenness of the rest of the stock.\*

Mr. Stuart states three other instances of the increase of negroes in Carolina, which seem to exceed very greatly the common course of population: but the statement of them is not sufficiently circumstantial to justify

<sup>\*</sup> See note, p. 137.

me in detaining the reader by a particular exa-

#### MR. WADSTROM

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Was at Senegal at the same time with Dr. Spaarman.

Mr. Wadstrom says, "The trade in slaves he speaks of, is carried on by the French only."

Obs. For which reason I shall observe but very slightly upon his evidence. No male-practices of the French ought to be charged upon the English; who, being masters of the greatest part of this trade,\* are of course more likely to conduct it openly, fairly, and according to the laws and customs of the country, than those who are trying to undermine. Interlopers and new adventurers are often tempted to use artifices and commit irregularities, which the established trade would rather prevent than imitate.

Mr. Wadstrom mentions a letter from M. Wignie, (Captain of a French Guineaman) giving an account, that "Three English ves-

<sup>\*</sup> See the Resolutions of the States General of Holland and Frieseland. Priv. C. Rep. Part 6, tit. Holland.

" sels had been cut off in the Gambia by the

" natives, because the captain of an English

" ship had failed away with some free negroes,

" but was forced back by the wind changing.

"The Captain, who communicated this let-

" ter to Mr. Wadstrom, affured him that this

" was a common practice among the English

" and Dutch. Mr. W. fince he came to Lon-

"don, has heard that two ships were cut off

" about this time, and believes them to have

" been the fame."

Obs. 1. Then the French Captain had at least multiplied two into three, which prevents me giving implicit credit to his information as to the cause of this misfortune; especially as he seems very forward in imputing soul play to any nation but his own.

2. If two or even three ships were in fact cut off, it was probably by an insurrection of the slaves on board. I should doubt if the natives would venture to attack three ships prepared to defend themselves; besides, the same wind which forced the ship (which had taken away the free negroes) back into the river, would have carried her up to James Fort, which would have afforded her some fort of protection till the dispute had been settled.

Mr. Wadstrom recommends a colony, "and would be glad to be one of the first to en-

Obs. One ought to know Mr. Wadstrom's situation and prospects in life before one can appreciate this offer; at any rate, it proves only Mr. W.'s opinion and spirit of enterprize, but cannot satisfy us of the prudence of the undertaking.

## CAPT. THO. WILSON (of the Navy.)

Capt. Wilson says, "the King of Demel makes no scruple of seizing any of his own fubjects and selling them, even whole villages. This King has deputies in each district to collect his revenues, which are paid in kind."

Obs. This proceeding of the King of Demel has been already observed upon.\* The circumstance of the revenue being paid in kind seems to corroborate the evidence of Messis. Barnes and Poplett; for in a country where the natives through indolence sow no more land than they think will exactly supply their necessities, + bad crops must often occasion the

<sup>\*</sup> Page 92.

<sup>+</sup> Labat. Afr. Occid. vol. n. p. 303.

revenue to be in arrear: when the King wants to buy goods, he demands these arrears, and sells such of the defaulters as have no property to redeem themselves. From the above cause it is also more likely that a whole village should be in arrear than particular individuals.

#### SIR GEORGE YONGE

Has made four voyages to Africa, and been at most parts of the coast from Senegal to Prampram.

Sir G. Yonge " faw in the house of Mr.

" Brue, an Irish trader at Annamaboe, a great

"number of negroes, subjects of different

"Kings; these men were making war on

" some neighbouring states for the purpose of

" procuring Slaves, as there were a great many

"fhips in the road. They brought three

" princes as hostages for the payment of goods

"that Mr. Brue had advanced to them for the

" purpose of carrying on the war."

Obs. Sir G. Yonge himself does not state this as a clear instance of a war entered into for the purpose of procuring slaves; for a few lines before Sir G. Yonge says, "that he can-"not say positively, whether wars are made

" in these countries merely for the purpose of " obtaining flaves; neighbouring states will " naturally have causes of quarrel between "them." Probably Mr. Brue told Sir G. Yonge that these people were going to war, and to bring in flaves; and Sir G. Yonge does not appear to have made any particular inquiry into the cause of the war, nor to have had any motive for doing fo. It is not in the least unreasonable to suppose that these people were in a state of hostility with others, either to enforce a right or to revenge some injury, but deferred going upon any expedition until the arrival of the ships should offer a ready market for the prisoners they might take; neither does it follow from fuch delay, that if no ships were expected, no war would be made; nor do the accounts of Africa and its inhabitants warrant any fuch inference,

Sir G. Yonge "does not believe the cli-"mate of Africa to be more unhealthy than "the West Indies."

Obf. By comparing the returns \* of the 75th and 86th regiments, and 4 independent Com-

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. part 1. tit. Special Information, .No. 7. These were the only returns which could be brought near the complete period of two years.

panies on the African fervice, with the returns of the regiments on the peace establishment in the West Indies\* (both for two years) it appears that

In Africa — — 1927 lost 775
In the West Indies — 4294 lost 1041
But 467 is to 1927, as 1041 is to 4294; consequently the mortality of the troops was nearly three sevenths more in Africa than the West Indies.

Sir Geo. Yonge "believes fome parts of "the hilly country near Sierra Leone are as "healthy as any part of the world."

Obs. 1. But whether we continue to trade only, or whether we colonize, I apprehend it will be equally necessary to keep possession of the coast and of an uninterrupted communication with the sea. So that if we should be suffered to advance far enough up the country to form settlements upon the hills, still the intermediate lowland and the banks + of the

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. C. Rep. Part 3, tit. Detached Evidence, No. 1. In the West India returns, those from the 10th and 45th regiments are omitted, being only for fifteen months.

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Dalzell's Evidence, Priv. C. Rep. part 1. tit. Produce.

rivers must be occupied; and it is these which are particularly fatal to Europeans.

Sir Geo. Yonge is of opinion, that "by "putting an end to polygamy, releafing the "women from field labour, confining them "to domestic work, and shewing them proper "attention when pregnant, the stock might not only be kept up but increased."

Obs. 1. It must be very long before a natural increase of the negroes can be expected, if it depends much upon the suppression of polygamy. This can only be effected by the introduction of Christianity, and the converts must be most sincerely convinced before they will abandon this universal and savourite practice. It seems to be generally understood that any attempt to suppress polygamy by law or force, would fail of success, and might even produce dangerous consequences.

2. The medical gentlemen of the islands are of opinion that the pregnant women and nurses do not suffer by ill treatment.\* But, if it be judged necessary to secure them any fixed indulgences as to labour or food, there can be no doubt but that the legislatures of the several islands would comply.

3. To release the women from all field labour would probably be against breeding, by increasing the disproportion between the sexes. For as this disproportion has been ascribed (though against the greater weight of evidence\*) to the planters unwillingness to purchase semale slaves: if the planters should have no power of employing women in the fields, they would certainly be less willing to buy them than they are supposed to be at present.

\* P. 120.

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## OBSERVATIONS

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## EVIDENCE

GIVEN BEFORE THE

COMMITTEES

OF THE

PRIVY COUNCIL

AND

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

IN SUPPORT OF THE

BILL FOR ABOLISHING

THE

SLAVE TRADE.

PART II.

## OBSERVATIONS

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## SECOND PART.

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WHEN the first part of these observations was written, it was thought that some of them might be useful upon any future examination of the same or other witnesses; but when they were sent to the press, it was understood that the gentlemen who support the Abolition Bill, intended to rely wholly upon the evidence reported by the Committee of the Privy Council; nor was it known until the work was nearly printed, that most of the witnesses, who had appeared before the Privy Council, would be re-examined, and others

others produced before the Committee of the House of Commons. The publication was then stopped, in order to give time for preparing such supplementary observations as might occur on this supplementary evidence: and it is hoped that the alphabetical arrangement of the witnesses, the continuation of the pages, and the general index, will prevent the reader sinding much inconvenience from this unavoidable division of the subject.

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Trivy Council, would be required

January 11th, 1791.

## OBSERVATIONS, &c.

## GEORGE BAILLIE, Esc.

CULTIVATED a rice and indigo plantation with flaves in Georgia for about ten years. Refided in Jamaica (principally at Kingston) from December 1778, to February or March 1779.

Mr. B. (p. 201.) " conceives rice to be as

" laborious in cultivation as fugar."

Obs. This opinion seems to be completely refuted by Mr. B.'s account of his own plantation. "Forty working negroes (he says, p. "194 and 195) cultivated annually from 120 "to 130 acres of rice, besides 40 acres of in-"digo, and about 100 acres of provision Z 2 "ground;"

"ground;" but it appears from the Privy Council report\*, that in Barbadoes one acre of canes is as much as one field negro, affifted in weeding and other light work by the second gang, can cultivate. In St. Christopher and Grenada the cultivation is something easier; but in Jamaica (the only island Mr. B. speaks of) one slave is hardly equal to one acre; so that upon the whole the difference between cultivating rice or sugar seems to be in point of labour as about 3 to 1.

\* Part. 3. tit. Barbadoes A. No. 49 and 50.—Grenada and St. Christopher A. No. 49. Part 5. Jamaica C. No. 1, 2, 3.

Mr. Alex. Campbell, who feems to fpeak from great experience, and a thorough knowledge of the subjects, says, "No planter can give any information to be depended on with respect to the quantity of land any
given number of slaves can cultivate, or to the sugar
they can make, unless he saw and knew the land
and its situation. I have three estates in Grenada,
on one of which I can make three hogsheads of sugar
a day, with less negro labour, suel and carriage,
than two hogsheads a day on either of the other
two." H. C. Rep. 137. From this evidence, it appears that neither Mr. Baillie, nor any other person
is qualified to make a general comparison between the
cultivation of sugar and rice.

Mr. B. fays, (p. 182) "in America the "flaves work task work: the overseer rouses "them early in the morning, and they are "generally able to leave the field pretty early "in the afternoon:" which method Mr. B. thinks far preferable to that used in the islands where (p. 187) "the slaves worked through "the whole day from sun-rise to sun-set, with "very short intermission."

Obs. Yet Mr. B. admits (p. 200) that "the "flaves in Jamaica had about an hour for "breakfast, and nearly two hours for dinner; "and that whilst he was there the sun was "about twelve hours and an half above the horizon:" consequently the slaves have nearly three hours rest, which does not appear to be a very short intermission; and considering them as day labourers, nine hours and an half cannot be accounted an unreasonable day's work.

Mr. B. fays (p. 190) "the appearance of the flaves in general was by no means favourable: the field negroes appear to be worn down with extreme labour."

Obs. On these particular points of extreme labour, and the general bad appearance of the slaves, the reader may see in the note the evi-

dence which has been given by many gentlemen, who, being neither merchants nor planters, can have no personal or pecuniary interest in the question; and most of whom have resided as many years in the islands as Mr. B. did months. \*

Mr.

\* Admiral Barrington—" has had continual opportunities of observing the situation of the negroes and

"the conduct of their masters. The slaves appeared

to be properly fed, cloathed and lodged, by no

" means overworked, and much happier than the la-

" bouring poor in Ireland, and many parts of Great

" Britain." H. C. Rep. 405, 407.

Admiral Arbuthnot—"has been frequently on many plantations in St. Christopher and Jamaica. The negroes are properly cloathed, fed with the utmost care, lodged much better than the poor in Ireland, and certainly not over-worked, for our labourers earn their bread more hardly than the negroes.

"They appear to be far from a desponding state, but to enjoy as joyous moments as any of us." H. C. Rep. 408, 409, 410.

Admiral Hotham—" passed near two months on one estate in the islands and visited many others for a

" few days at a time; had daily opportunities of ob-

" ferving the treatment and condition of the flaves.

"He thinks they were well treated as to food, cloaths, lodging and labour, and appeared to be cheerful and

" fatisfied." H. C. Rep. 414, 416.

Mr. B. fays, (p. 187) " in Jamaica the "flaves are constantly followed by drivers " who force the weak to keep up with the "ftrong

Captain Lambert has passed 8 or 9 years in the islands, first as commander of a king's ship, and latterly as commissioner at Port Royal; and came home in 1784, "thinks the slaves in general appeared happy" and comfortable, and always saw them cheerful after

" coming from work." H. C. Rep. 418.

Captain Gardner—has ferved in all the islands, but chiefly in Jamaica, where he had the command and resided on shore three years, (a few weeks excepted) and came home in August 1789,—" thinks the treatment " of the slaves is humane and mild. There are amongst them some who are constitutionally of a melan—"choly turn, as in this country: but from their cheerfulness out of work time, believes them to be perfectly satisfied with their condition; is convinced a labouring man in England does twice the work of a megro in the West Indies." H. C. Rep. 420 and feq.

Lord Macartney—Governor of Grenada, from May 1776 to July 1779. "The exertion of the flaves de"pends fo much upon their being properly fed, cloathed
"and lodged, that great attention is always paid to
"them in those respects. A labouring man in England
"works to the full as hard as the negro. Believes a
"great number of them, after having been a little
"time in our islands, would not return to Africa if

" they could. H. C. Rep. 424, 425.

" strong as far as possible." (p. 185) In

" America this is feldom or never done, be-

" cause the overseer cannot till the close of

" day

Sir J. Dalling—refided at Jamaica, off and on, from the taking of the Havannah until 1781. "Observed the treatment in general to be mild and humane, particularly to the cultivating negro. The general work of a negro is not to be deemed labour according to the acceptation of the word here." H. C. Rep. 430.

Sir Arch. Campbell—refided five years in Jamaica, two of them as Governor. "It appeared that the "mafters conducted themselves towards their slaves "with great kindness and humanity; these appeared "to be properly sed, cloathed and lodged, comfortable and satisfied with their condition. H. C. Rep. 451.

Governor Parry-refided seven years at Barbadoes.

"The treatment of the negroes is kind, gentle and

" humane; they are in general properly fed, cloathed

" and lodged; had it appeared otherwise, it would

" have been my business to have enforced the law for

" those purposes, which I certainly should have done.

"Their labour did not feem to be near fo much as the

owners had a right to demand; the common labour

" of a negro would be play to a peafant in this coun-

" try." H. C. Rep. 463, 464.

Lord Rodney—has been acquainted with the islands fince 1761, has resided at Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher, and three years and a half at Jamaica.

- " day know whether a flave would finish
- " his task or not, and it was thought time
- " enough to punish them, when they had de-
- " ferved it by their neglect: but (p. 188)
- " excepting this difference, the punishments
- "The masters appeared to be very attentive to their
- " negroes, indeed it is their interest to be so. At
  - " Jamaica they are much better fed than the common
  - " labouring people here; and upon the whole, the
  - " flaves in the British islands live as comfortable as
  - " the labourers of this country. One English labourer
  - " does more work in a day than any three negroes;
  - " and after their day's work they were generally dan-
- " cing and making merry." H. C. Rep. 468, 469,

Sir Peter Parker—has been three years on the lee-ward islands station, and resided as commander in Jamaica from 1778 to 1782. (N. B. Mr. Baillie was in Jamaica from Dec. 1778 to March 1779.)—" Thinks "the treatment of the negroes mild and humane; they appear to be in a more comfortable situation than the lower class of people in Great Britain, and are for the most part cheerful and merry." H. C. Rep. 477.

N. B. The substance of part of this evidence has been already stated (see the note p. 143) from the Privy Council Report; but as the evidence was given more fully and pointedly before the Committee of the H. of C. I hope this repetition will be thought allowable.

" on the Continent were as fevere as in the islands."

Obf. It is by no means clear that the mode of punishment preferred by Mr. B. is upon the whole the most merciful to the negro; for the mere appearance of bodily strength is no fure rule for judging of a labourer's power to perform work, which depends more upon ikill, habit and strength of constitution; and a talk-master is as liable to over-rate the ability of a negro, and to mistake weakness for idleness, as a driver. Supposing, therefore, a flave to be really weaker than he appears to be, he may be punished as much by the one as the other; but supposing him to be only idle, two or three strokes from the driver may make him go on with his work at the time, and fave him from a more severe punishment at the end of the day, for not having finished à certain talk.

Mr. B. fays, (p. 185) "I believe upon the "whole the children of the negro flaves in "America are raised in as great proportion as the children in Europe, when they are "in healthy fituations."

Obs. 1. As Mr. B. has not given his opinion as to the number of children reared in Eu-

rope, \* this comparison between the course of population in Europe, and among the American negroes, is no illustration of the subject.

If

\* The proportion of children reared to those born, is supposed to be very different in different parts of Europe, and even in different parts of the same kingdom. And although much has been said of the great mortality of infants in the islands, yet it does not appear from the evidence to be excessive, or even so great as happens in the large cities and less healthy parts of Europe. No public documents have been produced to prove what this mortality is in the islands, but in the Privy Council Report it is estimated as follows:

Reared. Born.

The agents for Antigua fay that there		e de la companya de l	in pos
are reared, not -	3	in	6
Council and Affembly of Montferrat			
estimate them at	1	in	2
Legislature of Nevis -	1	in	2
Council and Affembly of St. Christo-		11	ton
pher, not more than -	1	in	2
Several Inhabitants of Dominica	1	in	2
Governor Seton for St. Vincent	1	in	2

See No. 16, under the feveral islands, Part 3, A. N. B. No estimate is sent from Barbadoes, Grenada, or Jamaica.

Now Mr. Smith in his book on "The Wealth of Nations," (V. 1. p. 120. 8vo. edit.) fays, "in some "places one half of the children born, die before they are sour years of age; in many places before they

Aa 2

If Mr. B. had stated the number of his own negroes, of their marriages, births, and children reared, it would have afforded means (as far as any single instance can) of drawing a more pertinent comparison between the population of slaves in America and in the islands.

words "when they are in healthy fituations," may be as applicable to the West Indies as to America; but unfortunately there are many

" are feven, and in almost all places before they are " nine or ten." I believe Mr. Smith has over-rated the mortality; for it appears from various registers and calculations, (for which fee Chambers's Diction. v. 2, verb. " Expectation of Life," and v. 3. verb. " Mor-" tality," and Dr. Price's Effay, Philof. Trans. v. 65, part 2.) that in healthy villages and country towns, more than half of those which are born attain the age of 21 years, in many places 30, and in some upwards of 40; but Mr. Smith's estimate holds good for many places, and especially for most capital cities .-In Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, and London, half of the children born are so far from attaining the age of 15 or puberty (which is what I believe the planters mean by the word-reared) that they do not even live three years; and in the same cities not above one third attain the age of 15.

unhealthy

unhealthy fituations in the islands; \* and such local unhealthiness, either causing or co-operating with epidemical diseases, cannot but contribute greatly to the mortality of infants, as well as to the gradual decrease of the whole stock.

Mr. B. further says, (p. 190) that "he is "of opinion that the climate of Jamaica in "every respect was much more savourable to the constitutions of negroes, than the continent of America, and from thence they were subject to sewer diseases."

Obs. 1. To form an opinion of the climate of any country, and the diseases it may occasion, a man should at least have experienced a complete revolution of the seasons, and many people would think a single year not sufficient for such a purpose. But Mr. B.'s residence in the West Indies appears to have been less than four months, viz. from December to February

<sup>\*</sup> Sir J. Dalling fays—" the annual decrease almost always depends on situation. The negroes imported bring many disorders with them: exclusive of such, in happy situations the consumption is trisling; but as there are many unwholesome ones, there it becomes great." H. C. Rep. 432.

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or March, in which months the weather is not often intemperate. \*

2. It is likewise observable, that by Mr. B.'s account (H. C. Rep. p. 195) the negroes in America are employed during the winter (i.e. the unhealthy season) in threshing rice, and are not put to any out-door work until a little before the spring. But on sugar plantations the negroes (except the sew who attend the mills and boiling houses) are employed entirely out of doors; and, being thus exposed to all the vicissitudes of the climate, must of course suffer more from its bad effects than the negroes in America, who work under

<sup>\*</sup> Every island is at times subject to droughts, torrents of rain, bleak north winds, and hurricanes; these
cause putrid severs, liver complaints, &c. which are
much increased by the destruction of the ground provisions; seldom sour or three years pass without some of
these disorders becoming epidemical. This unseasonable weather commonly happens between July and
November, when there is no shipping in the country
to assist in importing dry provisions; the negroes are
therefore forced to eat unripe provisions, which I believe destroys as many slaves as the disorders of the
country. See Mr. Alexander Campbell's evid. H. C.
Rep. 157.

shelter during the worst part of the year.\*
This comparison, therefore, would not hold good, even if Mr. B. were better qualified to make it than he appears to be.

Mr. B. fays, (p. 187) "being on one "estate in particular, which was under the

- " direction of a particular friend, he had the
- " privilege of looking at their books, and
- " to his utter surprise saw in their daily oc-
- " currences, that the negroes were on a Sun-
- " day turned out as regularly as any other
- " day in the week, to work in what was
- " called their own grounds."

Obs. A very little inquiry would probably have removed Mr. B.'s surprise; for I have no doubt but this is the regular mode of entering the daily occurrences for Sunday in the plantation journal; and means nothing more than that the slaves are not employed that day in working for their masters. My reason for thinking so is, that Mr. Hutchinson (agent for Antigua) in the course of his examination,

informed

<sup>\*</sup> The rainy season is (I understand) the most unhealthy to the negroes, and the holing the ground for the plants can only be done either during or immediately after rain, when the earth is soft and the air damp.

informed the Privy Council, that no mafter exacts labour from his flaves on Sunday, and at the same time delivered in the plantation journal for three months, in which journal-" Sunday—all hands in their gardens,"—is the uniform entry for every Sunday in every month. \* Now as it is not to be supposed that Mr. Hutchinson would deliver in a paper, proving that the flaves were turned out to work on Sundays, the very moment after he had said that no labour was exacted from them; it seems to me that this entry can only mean, that they are supposed to employ Sunday in their gardens, or in going to market; in short, that Sunday is at their own disposal, + and that they are not called out in a gang to work under the overfeer and driver; and it furely is not a strained construction to fay, that " all hands in their gardens," and " all " hands in their own grounds," probably mean the fame thing.

<sup>\*</sup> P. C. Rep. part 3. tit. Antigua. A. No. 9.

Mr. Kerby of Antigua fays, that "he has known

<sup>&</sup>quot; field negroes often earn half a crown on a Sunday

<sup>&</sup>quot; by acting as porters; and that no mafter employs

<sup>&</sup>quot; them on that day in the most trifling business with-

<sup>&</sup>quot; out paying them." H. C. Rep. p. 314, 315.

Mr. B. concludes the above remark by faying, (p. 187) "the products of these "grounds were appropriated to the negroes "subsistence, and not to their own emolu- ment, unless perhaps there might be a "furplus of food; how far that surplus was "applied to their own benefit, I am not per- fectly clear."

Obs. Here again I believe Mr. B. might, by a very little inquiry, have made himself perfectly clear, that although the negroes are expected, and generally do draw good part of their sub-fiftence from their own grounds, yet they certainly do dispose of the surplus for their own benefit, and that this benefit is to many of them of considerable value.\*

\* Admiral Edwards says—— "In all the islands the slaves supply the King's ships with live stock and vegetables. Bum-boats are used there the same as at Spithead. See his evidence. H. C. Rep. p. 413. and Admiral Hotham speaks to the same effect, p. 416.

Mr. Kerby (a planter of Antigua) has been told by many of his own slaves, that they made a dollar a week by ground provisions and vegetables only, fold to the shipping. H. C. Rep. p. 314.

It is to be collected\* from Mr. B.'s evidence, (p. 188) that "he has in company in the "West Indies heard it argued, that if a masure ter shorten the life of his slave by excessive sive labour, yet if the slave live a given time, the master is no loser by his death. "But Mr. B. does not think they were very services, and he believes them to be too humans to wish a man to die."

Obs. Men, shut up in an island and debarred those numerous supplies of intelligence which our daily posts and papers afford us, must draw their topics of conversation from things constantly present to their sight or thoughts. Hence, I presume, the Gentlemen in the West-Indies frequently discourse upon the value, qualities, and management

<sup>\*</sup> I say collected, because I have no doubt but that the meaning of Mr. B.'s evidence is what I have stated, although the words do not go so far; indeed, as the position is worded in the H. C. Report, (p. 188) it amounts to no more than this;—" If a negro bought at " a certain price, work a certain time and then die, the master would not be a great loser;" which is a calculation, for aught that I can see, perfectly innocent and unexceptionable. In the next citation from Mr. B.'s evidence, I shall make use of the same expression for the same reason.

of flaves and fugar canes; and endeavour to put these subjects in every new and possible light, as much for the sake of variety as information. It is not therefore at all wonderful that, in the unguarded hours of society and the natural eagerness of discussion, every principle and theory, bad as well as good, should at times find an advocate ready to support it.

If indeed a man were frequently and feriously to expatiate upon the advantages of an unjust or cruel conduct, it might be reasonably suspected that he would reduce his opinions to practice. But it would be judging much too severely to condemn men as inhuman for having argued round a dining table in support of a position which might have an inhuman tendency, although they were not thought to be serious in their discourse and to be too humane to act as they talked.

It is farther to be collected from Mr. B.'s evidence, (p. 200) that "he has heard a "planter fay in a mixt company at table,

- " that it is cheaper to keep up a stock of ne-
- " groes by purchases from Africa, than by
- " births on their own estates."

Obs. There is reason to believe that this opinion was formerly entertained by some plan-

ters, \* but not that it was ever generally received; + and there is very strong evidence to shew that it is now almost universally exploded. ‡ Probably longer experience and closer

\* For Mr. Franklyn fays—" There may be people "who from ancient prejudice think it cheaper to buy than breed, but I never knew even these treat pregnant "women with any want of tenderness. It is now become the pride of a manager to shew a number of young children in good order. H. C. Rep. p. 90.

Mr. Douglas, who resided in St. Christopher so long ago as 1749, and has not been in the West Indies since 1771—does not seem to have ever had a doubt upon this point. He says—"Every planter that has common sense, must wish to breed as many new groes as he can." H. C. Rep. 290. and that he always considered the breeding women as the most valuable part of the gang. Ib. p. 293.

A letter I have mentioned (ante p. 128) to have been written above 40 years ago, proves the writer to have been diffatisfied at the few births on his estate.

Besides the two gentlemen last named, every planter who has been questioned to this point, speaks of the superior advantages in breeding over buying as a matter not to be doubted. See the evid. of Mr. Castles. H. C. Rep. 216. Mr. Greg. 234. Mr. Thomas. 259. Mr. Kerby, 305. Mr. Athill, 327. 333. Mr. Willock, 346. Mr. Wedderburn, 377. Sir Ralph Payne never had a doubt but that the planters thought breeding

closer observation have proved the calculation to be fallacious: the increased price of imported negroes must also have made a material difference in the question: \* and as it is admitted that the treatment of the slaves is in every respect better than it was thirty years ago, † it is but just to believe that the present race of planters have improved upon the manners and sentiments of their ancestors. But whatever might be the cause, a change of opinion has certainly taken place with respect to the importance and advantages of breeding.

breeding the most advantageous mode of increasing their gangs. He himself thinks it infinitely so. H. C. Rep. 441.

Lord Rodney—" thinks from his own observation, and from what he has thought and heard, that the

" flock of negroes could not be kept up without im-

" portation. He knows no gentleman in Jamaica that

" does not attempt to keep up his flock by breeding;

"wherever he has been it has appeared to him. H. C. Rep. 472.

\* Mr. Greg says, that in 1765 prime negroes sold in Dominique at 261. 10s. od. and before any report of the Abolition, the price had got up to 351. or 381. Probably the price rose nearly as much in the other islands. H. C. Rep. p. 230.

See Mr. Wilberforce's speech, p. 28.

Some planters have built lying-in hospitals on their estates, \* some have given premiums to the mothers, + some to the midwives, and the Jamaica Consolidated Act allows a premium to the manager. † These plans and their success have been different, but their object is the same: they all plainly shew that the planters do not merely wish, but are earnest in endeavouring to have children raised upon their estates.

## THE REV. MR. CLARKSON

Seems to have been called before this committee for the fole purpose of invalidating the testimony of Mr. Norris, who had been previously called for the purpose of being examined to such parts of his former evidence as were intended to be invalidated.

Mr. N. in the Privy Council Report, (Part r. tit. Slaves) fays—" He could not collect information to be depended upon how they

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Francklyn in Tobago, and Mr. Kerby in Antigua. The former with fuccess. H. C. Rep. p. 89. The latter does not think he has reaped any advantage from his lying-in hospital. Ib. p. 300.

Mr. Tobin's evidence. Ib. p. 268. And Mr. Kerby's evidence. Ib. p. 301.

<sup>‡</sup> Sect. 31.

e' became flaves. The general account was,

" that they had been fold for the crime of

" adultery; they would readily confess that,

" and wish to conceal other delinquencies,

" which in many instances were the occasion

" of their being fold."

Mr. C. before the Committee of the H. of C. fays (p. 67)—" He (Mr. Norris) affured

" me that the greater part were kidnapped;

" that he spoke this from having inquired

" into the histories of many of those whom

" he had taken from the coast of Africa in

" his own veffels; that he was enabled to in-

" quire into this by knowing one or two (but I

of believe one) of the languages of Africa;

" and that their almost universal reply was,

" that they were kidnapped either as they

" were travelling on the roads, or fishing in

" the creeks, or cultivating their little spots."

Obs. These accounts given by Mr. N. the one to the Privy Council, and the other to Mr. C. are clearly contradictory.

But Mr. N. has also said before the Privy Council, that—" as on the windward coast

" there is no union or regular government,

" the natives are frequently in a state of hof-

" tility with each other, and the traveller is

" fometimes

" fometimes way-laid, feized and fold for a

" flave, and this is what they understand by

" the term, Kidnapping."

Mr. C. was therefore asked (p. 78) if Mr. N. did not flate kidnapping to be a species of depredation committed by nations living in a state of hostility, and not an act of individuals committed by the natives on their neighbours and townsmen? to which Mr. C. answers-"He never made to the best of my recol-" lection any difcrimination between nations " and individuals; his words were, which " are now ftrong in my mind, (and which " have been fo ever fince) that on inquiry " into the histories of feveral of these whom " he had taken from the coast of Africa in "his own veffels, that their almost universal " answer was, that they were kidnapped " either as they were travelling on the roads, " or fishing in the creeks, or cultivating " their little spots." Mr. C. adds, that "im-" mediately on returning from Mr. Norris's " house, he put down his words on this occasion " in a journal which he kept, and which " he had presented to the committee."

Obs. 1. Mr. C. admits that he took no note of these words at the time they were spoken,

but wrote them down from recollection after he got home. What interval there was between his hearing and writing them, and whether that interval was not employed in conversing with other people upon other subjects, and in making other observations, does not appear: yet any one of these circumstances lessens the powers, and consequently the credit of recollection.

2. It feems to me, that the Committee ought to have printed this paffage in Mr. C.'s journal verbatim; for there is some difference in the account given by Mr. C. in p. 67, and that in p.78 faid to be contained in his journal. The Italics shew wherein the accounts differ: and the words-affured me that the greater part were kidnapped-make no trifling addition to the fentence: fince they do indeed amount to an affurance of what neither Mr. N. nor any other person can possibly know. If those words are in Mr. C.'s journal, then by omitting them in p. 78, at the same time that he fays "his (Mr. N.'s) words are now " ftrong in my mind, and have been so ever "fince"-Mr. C. plainly shews that he did not at the time of his examination before the Committee recollect a material expression in his Cc iournal

journal, which he had probably perused but a few hours before. If those words are not in his journal, then Mr. C. by introducing them in p. 67, prefers his recollection after an interval of above two years, to the contents of his journal. Visited nearly pairlant of lans agreed

After all, Mr. C. may have both written and spoken nothing more than he believes to have passed between Mr. N. and him. But the mind loves to dwell upon whatever fupports a favourite opinion, and is not unwilling to forget what makes against it: and the recollection of the most unbiassed man as to particular expressions in conversations of any length is not to be greatly relied on.

Mr. N. fays (p. 52.)—" he understood Mr.

"C. to aim not at an immediate, but a gra-

"dual, abolition, for he recollects that Mr.

"C. proposed to him to procure an appoint-

" ment to the command of a flave-ship for

" Mr. Falconbridge."

Obs. Mr. N.'s inference from Mr. C.'s propofal (fuppofing it to have been made) is perfectly just.

Mr. C. in answer, says (p. 75.)-" he thinks he can take upon himself to say he " never made fuch a proposal. Having in " view " view the abolition of the flave-trade, he

" should have thought his character would

"have fuffered in Mr. N.'s opinion by mak-

"ing fuch a proposal. And besides, Mr. F.

" had told him that he had left the trade

" upon principle, and would go into it no

"more." But Mr. C. adds, "that it is not

"improbable that he might observe to Mr.

" N. that as the flave-trade could not be im-

" mediately abolished, it was a pity humane

"men were not felected to command the

" ships in the mean time.

Obs. 1. Upon this ground Mr. C.'s character could not have suffered in the opinion of any man by his application for an appointment to a ship for Mr. F. nor would such an application from such a motive have been at all inconsistent with his view of abolishing the slave-trade.

2. As Mr. C. fays he knew that Mr. Falconbridge had quitted the flave-trade from motives of humanity only, he might think that Mr. F. might be induced by the fame motives to take the command of a ship: especially as another voyage might enable Mr. F. to improve his information and evidence as to the evils and abuses of the trade. 3. Hence it appears to me, that neither of Mr. C.'s reasons for believing he could not make this proposal to Mr. N. is conclusive; and consequently Mr. C.'s contradiction of this fact does not seem to be so well founded as Mr. N.'s affertion of it.

It is upon these two points that Mr. C.'s evidence most directly impeaches that of Mr. N. and the reader will judge if this is sufficient to discredit Mr. Norris's general testimony.

The rest of their evidence principally relates to the words and meaning of several conversations which passed between these gentlemen in 1787, and to the impression made on their minds by those conversations at the time. A full investigation of their evidence would be very tedious and of little use: for it would not (as far as I can judge) convince any unprejudiced reader that Mr. N. is undeferving of credit; and those who are prejudiced will form their opinion with lefs trouble. But whether Mr. Norris misunderstood Mr. Clarkson, or Mr. Clarkson misunderstood Mr. Norris, cannot, among fuch a variety of evidence, affect the general question of abolition.

words the credit to tell, added a resemble come

## HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esq.

This gentleman's evidence, as it stands in the P. C. Report, has been observed upon in its proper place,\* But his evidence reported by the Committee of H. C. is not only more copious, but shews that Mr. D. being proprietor of an estate in Grenada, was very naturally inquisitive about the state of slavery in Africa, and had perused many books upon it in order to direct his inquiries. Mr. D. has also added a good deal of evidence relative to the treatment of flaves in the West-Indies. For these reasons his evidence deferves farther attention.

Mr. D. fays (p. 293.) besides the Grand Pillage or Breaking up Villages-" fmall par-" ties lie in wait about the villages, and take " fuch people as they can furprise, who are " likewife fold: and individuals, " not belong to the king, but are private rob-" bers of men, when they can furprize any " man, woman, or child, bring them down

<sup>\*</sup> Ante p. 49.

"to the coast to fell, where it is well known no questions are ever asked about them."

Obs. 1. Neither of these two modes are mentioned in Mr. D.'s evidence before the Privy Council: but whether this was an omission by Mr. D. or the reporter, does not appear.

2. It is clear that these small parties are supposed to belong to the K. of Demel (Mr. D. speaks to this country only) and as he exercises the power of breaking up whole villages, there seems to be no occasion for his sending out such parties, except indeed to seize some particular offender who could not be taken by any other means.

3. With respect to no questions being asked, —it appears by the evidence of Capt. Wilfon, R. N. who went to deliver up Goree in 1784, that whilst he commanded there, a slave was brought to his house for sale, as nothing was allowed to be sold but by the permission of the commandant. So far the English, whilst in possession of Goree, established the slave trade upon a fairer sooting than they sound it.

Mr. D. fays (p. 294) —" his grounds for "fupposing that kidnapping is practised are "—gene-

" general report; the notoriety of the thing

" which he never heard denied by French "

" or native; and inftances which he has

" known."

Obs. 1. Mr. D. mentions one instance only, twiz. a messenger who was surprised in his way from Senegal to Russico, by two men, who offered him for sale, and hoasted of having taken him.

2. That kidnapping is known to be practifed fometimes I have no doubt. But if it were common, Mr. D. who visited the continent every week, and was very particular in his inquiries, would probably have recollected more than this single instance of the messenger.

Mr. D. fays (p. 298) that "he learned from "different histories of the coast of Africa" (particularly from La Brue) that it was a

\* Mr. D. was never at any English settlement; he therefore can only speak of the trade as carried on by the French, which does not strictly apply to the British slave-trade. See p. 50. and 158.

Mr. D. faw also some persons who had been surprised and sold by the Moors, but he distinguishes these depredations by the Moors from kidnapping. (H. C. Rep. p. 295.) " common practice for the Kings of the coun-

" try to seize their subjects when they wanted

" European goods, and to fell them for flaves:

" and (p. 295) that this was confirmed to

" him by the Mulatto Traders at Goree."

Obs. 1. Having never met with any publication by M. la Brue or under his name, I prefume Mr. D. means l'Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale par Labat, which was chiefly compiled from M. la Brue's papers. From this book I have cited a passage, \* by which the reader may judge if the exercise of this power is so persectly arbitrary and indefensible as it appears to be at first sight.

- Mr. D. fays (p. 297) " the part of the

" country, where I was, was remarkably well

" cultivated; and from their general disposi-

tion to labour, I am convinced that had they

" a proper market for the produce of their

country they would be as industrious as any

" people in Europe."

Obs. Several witnesses agree upon the posfibility of rendering the Africans industrious, but I believe no one has expressed his opinion in such strong terms as Mr. Dalrymple. The

Mr. D. remarks (p. 297) "That in those parts of the coast where there is little or no trade for slaves, they are more industrious than in those places where that trade is carried on."

\* Ante p. 57.

D d

Obs. 1. As the extent of country visited by Mr. D. did not exceed 40 miles on the coast, and ten miles inland, \* in which space he states breaking up of villages and kidnapping both by the King's people and private robbers to be very prevalent, it should seem that a district so limited and so circumstanced could scarce offer a sufficient distinction of manners to justify this remark.

2. This remark favours an affertion already mentioned, † viz. "that the flave trade is an "impediment to the introduction of any "other trade." And if this is really the cafe, the prospect of substituting a trade in the natural produce to the flave trade must be considered as desperate; for there is the most full and explicit evidence that whenever Great Britain shall relinquish the slave trade, many other nations will do their utmost to get as great a share of it into their hands as they possibly can. Spain has given the Phillippine company a privilege for supplying the continent of South America with slaves, has permitted the importation of them into most

<sup>\*</sup> H. C. Rep. p. 309 & 522.

HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esq. 203 of her islands in foreign bottoms duty free, referving only the port of Cuba for her own fubjects, who receive a bounty of four dollars for every flave imported there in Spanish bottoms on their own account: and in 1788 fome Spanish merchants went to Manchester and Liverpool to examine the flave ships and outfits, and to tamper with the captains and furgeons. \* Holland has exprefly declared the importation of flaves to be necessary to the existence of their colonies, and that such importations in foreign bottoms must be highly detrimental to the mother country. + Mr. James Baillie has faid-" I am in correspon-" dence with the first house in Copenhagen, " and can affirm that a confiderable number " of Guineamen will be fitted out from that " port, the very instant the trade is abolished " here." And adds-" confiderable infurances " are now making in London on Guineamen " from Boston, Virginia and Charles-Town; " although the American flave trade is prin-" cipally carried on from Massachuset's Bay " and Rhode Island. †" With respect to France, Capt. Frazer had in that country

<sup>\*</sup> P. C. Rep. part 6. † Ib. ; H. C. Rep. p. 191.

offers of employment for himself, and as many officers as he would recommend: \* our African company has been obliged to complain of the encroachments and settlements made by the French on the Gold Coast, † and I think no one can discover in the proceedings of the National Assembly the smallest intention of applying any part of " La declaration sur les " droits de l'Homme," to negroes either in Africa or the West Indies,

Mr. D. (p. 299) " was two months on board " of a flave ship on his passage from Africa

to the West Indies. The slaves often at-

" tempted to rife, and when they could not

" fucceed, begged to be allowed to throw

" themselves overboard: they were exceed-

" ingly unhappy and perpetually regretting

" their own country."

Obs. 1. As Mr. D. mentions no act of fuicide, this impatience of life was probably nothing more than the momentary effect of disappointment in their attempts to rise and sear of immediate punishment. For when men are deliberately disgusted with life, scarce any precaution is sufficient to prevent them getting rid of it.

<sup>\*</sup> H. C. Rep. p. 55, 56.

See the Memorial dated 9th Sept. 1786. P. C. Rep. part 6. tit. France.

2. As these slaves are described to have been very unhappy and perpetually regretting their own country, one cannot but wish to know if there was any epidemical disease or extraordinary mortality on board of this ship, such as might justify the theory laid down by Mr. Wilson as to the flux being often occasioned among the slaves by their melancholy and discontent.\*

Mr. D. has been in feveral of the islands and particularly in Grenada, where he thinks acts of cruelty are committed with impunity, and instances (p. 304) two slaves killed and three others very inhumanly punished.

Obs. 1. It is pretty clear by Mr. D.'s evidence (p. 315, 316) that the three first of these instances happened very soon after the lands in Grenada were sold under the king's proclamation, and before any regular police could be established; consequently they are no proofs of the present state of slavery in Grenada.

2. The fourth instance happened fince the passing of the Protective Law, and for aught that appears the master may have been profecuted for his severity.

<sup>\*</sup> See his evid. H. C. Rep. p. 578.

## 206 HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Es Q.

3. The last instance happened before the Protective Law passed, and seems to have been the revenge of a mistress jealous of her flave. But be that as it may, there always have been, and will be, fome dispositions too violent and wicked to be controuled by any rules of prudence or fear of punishment.

Mr. D. was in Grenada when the Protective Law of 1788 passed, and heard many of the planters argue (p. 306) that, "except "the opinion it might infuse into the minds of " the flaves that the authority of the masters " was leffened by this law, it would be of " very little consequence in any other re-" spect; as the act was made by themselves " against themselves, and to be carried into " execution by themselves; that such laws " were unnecessary where the negro was well " treated, and might be easily evaded where " he was treated ill, as his evidence was not "admitted." And Mr. D. understood that " the agent for the island had mentioned in a " letter to the island, that unless they made 46 laws for the protection of the flave, the "British parliament would."

Obs. The expediency of passing this law feems to have been warmly debated in Gre-

nada;

nada; and upon fuch occasions the parties interested are apt to make use of whatever arguments they think most likely to fatisfy or filence their opponents, without always confidering whether they are good or bad, or being themselves convinced that their reasoning is well founded. For instance, in the case before us, the planters who were for the law might fay-"Why should we fear to " pass a law which will do us no harm, for "it will not really leffen our authority?" Those against the law might answer-" Why " should you defire to pass a law which will " do the flaves no good, for it will be eafily " evaded?" But though both fides might thus affume, for argument's fake, that the law would be never executed, and therefore useless; yet if they were perfectly convinced of this, why did they hesitate a moment about making the law in compliance with their agent's recommendation? the measure being contested, proves that the planters did not at the bottom believe it would be wholly unoperative. And indeed when one reads in this law, that guardians are to be appointed and fworn to fee it duly executed, and that they have power to examine managers, overfeers, and all perfons

persons likely or able to give testimony touching any offender against this act; \* one cannot but approve the opinion of the Privy Council, which declares that - " Measures " have been devised by the legislature of this " ifland for placing the flaves in a state of fo-" ciety, where they will be intitled to a pro-" tection, that in former times would have " been thought incompatible with the de-" pendence and subordination of flavery." + Mr. D. fays (p. 320) "I might have ob-" tained the means of putting my estate in "cultivation. But knowing how happy the " negroes are in their own country, the unjus-" tifiable means by which they are made flaves there, their cruel usage on ship-board, and " their severe usage in the West Indies; I " could not, confiftently with my ideas of " what was right, purchase any slaves, particularly as I did not intend to remain upon " the plantation myself."

Obs. From this last sentence it may be fairly inferred, that if Mr. D. had intended to remain on his plantation, he should have thought

<sup>\*</sup> See the act of 3d Nov. 1788, 5. 15. in the Priv. Co. Rep. part 3. tit. Grenada.

<sup>+</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. part 3.

himself justified in purchasing slaves to cultivate his estate, because he could conside in his own will and power to make them at least as happy as they had been in their own country: and if Mr. D. could do this, I see no reason for supposing that many planters may not do the same.

## MR. WILLIAM DOVE

Made one voyage to the coast of Africa from Sierra Leone down to the Piccinini Sisters in 1769.—And was at Boston and New York from 1774 to 1783, as superintendant of the brewery and cooperage of the fleet.

Mr. Dove fays (p. 101.) that—" Whilst "they lay at the Piccinini Sisters, one John-" fon (a black trader) from Wappoa brought "a girl on board and fold her. That imme-" mediately after two blacks came on board "and inquired if such a girl had been fold, "the captain shewed her to them; upon "which they pursued Johnson, brought him "back, and fold him as a thief."

Obs. 1. It is singular that these men, who were so eager to catch the thief, took no far-E e ther ther notice of the girl which was stolen. It should seem that the redeeming of her ought to have made a principal part of the transaction.

2. Supposing this transaction to be fully and exactly stated, and that there was no war between the natives of Wappoa and Piccinini Sisters, it is certainly an instance of kidnapping, and likewise of the kidnapper being very speedily detected and punished.

Mr. D. adds,-" From this circumstance I " altered my notion respecting the mode of " getting flaves; for the notion that I first " entertained was, that they were taken in war " principally, and in order to fave their lives " they would not cut them off, but brought "them on board as flaves; but I was then " led to think that they were taken by fur-" prize or kidnapped, from the circumstance " of the girl's being brought on board; and " what further confirmed me in that opinion " was, that I have feen children brought on " board feparately, and men and women "brought on board without any marks or " wounds fresh on them, or any that I could " fee had been made of old wounds. These " were my reasons for thinking they were obse tained by kidnapping, and taken by furprize."

Obs. 1. It seems strange that the single circumstance of this girl's being brought on board should so instantaneously change Mr. D.'s notion of the mode of procuring slaves, and give rise to his subsequent reflections and reasoning.—I own I cannot help suspecting that his ideas have been lately enlightened by some of the many publications in savour of the Abolition.

Mr. D. fays (p. 102) "The flaves were in general very well treated on board, as well as in any ship on the coast, except two or three instances of great cruelty. One of these instances was of some slaves who were feverely punished for having stolen some horse-beans through hunger."

Obs. 1. There is some inconsistency in saying that slaves were very well treated, who were driven by hunger to steal food.

2. In no other part of the Report is there any evidence of the flaves not having sufficient food: on the contrary, it appears that they are frequently encouraged and even forced to sustain and keep themselves in good plight. It is therefore probable that Mr. D.'s remembrance of this transaction is not per-

E e 2 fectly

feetly correct after an interval of twenty years.

Mr. D. with respect to the working of slaves in America, and the ordinary mode of correcting them, says (p. 107) "I never saw "a driver (over the gang) in America. As "to the ordinary punishment of the negro "slaves, they (the masters) have transferred "them from one to another, to such masters "as they (the slaves) should like themselves, "which they have been at liberty to choose, "for they never found beating answer."

Obs. 1. It is possible that sometimes a valuable slave, who had become refractory from some particular dislike to his master, overseer, or fellow-slaves, may have been transferred to another master of his own choosing. But that the ordinary punishment for idle, drunken, or thievish slaves should be a permission to change their masters at pleasure, is as incredible as that such slaves should find any masters willing to purchase them. Mr. Geo. Baillie \* has said that "the punishments on the Continent were as severe as in the "islands."

<sup>\*</sup> See his evidence in support of the Abolition Bill. H.C. Rep. p. 188. and ante so. 177.

#### MR. HENRY ELLISON

Made nine voyages to different parts of Africa between the year 1759 and 1770. In 1771 he was pressed into the navy; and in 1784 was appointed gunner of the Resistance man of war. Mr. E. says (p. 366) "The women he has seen on the "coast of Africa are modest and decent."

Obs. Mr. E. must either have seen very sew African women, or have been particularly fortunate in those he did see: for it is certain that modesty and decency, in the common acceptation of those words, are not the usual characteristics of African women.\*

Mr. E. fays (p. 369) "The women flaves "are fometimes whipped and struck as well "as the men, but not so often, and that "they resent this treatment very highly."

See Churchill's Coll. of Voy. v. 1. p. 687. 741. and v. 5. p. 119. 397. Bosman 176. 181. and most of the witnesses who have been questioned as to the causes of the decrease of negroes in the West Indies, impute it in a great degree to the early debauchery and incontinence of the women. See Priv. Co. Rep. part 3. A. No. 15.

He then relates an instance of a woman " whom the fecond mate struck with a lit-"tle cat; she flew at him with great rage, " but he pushed her away, and struck her "three or four times with the cat very " fmartly; and when she found she could " not have her revenge on him, she sprung "two or three feet on the deck and dropped " down dead.

Obs. This is so very extraordinary an instance of the effect of resentment, that I believe few of my readers will credit it without farther proof.

Mr. E. fays (p. 372) " At Barbadoes and " Jamaica he has frequently feen feamen ly-" ing upon the wharfs with very large ulcers "upon their legs and feet, and in a starving " condition: and (p. 373) that he never faw " any that belonged to any other ships but "Guinea-men in that condition."

Obs. It is well known that fores and ulcers are far more common and difficult to be healed, in the West Indies than in Europe; and I have heard that in Barbadoes complaints of this fort are not only very general, but fo inveterate as to have the appearance of leprofy.

profy.\* It is therefore highly probable that Mr. E. is greatly mistaken in supposing that every seaman he saw afflicted with these complaints in the West Indies had belonged to a Guinea-man.

These may serve as specimens of Mr. E.'s evidence; which he perhaps gave to the best of his recollection: but he entered young, and has not served in a slave-ship since 1770. His evidence upon the whole does not appear to be either well considered or correct; and the greater part of it is explained by Mr. E. in his cross-examination, so as to render the whole of little or no weight.

## Mr. FALCONBRIDGE

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Says (p. 615) that "In 1787 or 1788 he "went with Mr. Clarkson from Bristol to "Liverpool to affist in procuring information "relative to the slave-trade, staid out nine or ten weeks; his expences were paid by the Abolition Society, but that he has feeling than he has received. (P. 632)

" That

<sup>\*</sup> Capt. Hall's evidence seems to confirm this. H.C. Rep. p. 532.

"That having attended the Committee of the "H. C. at the desire of the Abolition Society, he expects to have his expences in London paid by the Society. (P. 613) he is so much persuaded that the manners and customs of the Africans may be altered by a trade with this country, that he is going to try the experiment; but (p. 628) that he has no fortune of his own, and expects to be paid by the people who employ him in this undertaking."

Obs. 1. A witness duly summoned to give evidence in a court of justice, is bound to appear, and is intitled to his expences. Mr. F. was not so summoned, and only expects, but can make no demand upon the Abolition Society for his expences: this Society may therefore either pay him nothing, or in proportion to the service his testimony may be thought to have done the cause.

2. Mr. F. is engaged to affift in planting a colony in Africa, for which also he expects to be paid: and it is notorious that the advocates for colonization maintain the abolition of the slave-trade to be necessary to the success of their plan.\*

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Wilberforce's Speech, p. 50.

<sup>3.</sup> Thefe

3. These considerations cannot but affect the credibility of Mr. F.'s evidence; for what mind can be unbiassed under the double influence of an expectation of gain and enthusiasm for a new project?

Mr. F. fays (p. 582) that "He supposes the "principal source of supply to the slave-trade "to be kidnapping and crimes."

Obs. 1. The opinion of Mr. F. with respect to kidnapping has been already discussed; \* and he has only added hearsay evidence of two or three more instances, which do not seem to me to increase the credibility of this opinion.

Mr. F. indeed feems to think (p. 584) that "He can depend upon the authenticity of "these instances, because the slaves (who "gave him the information) could have no "interest in misrepresentation, since (p. 606) "the treatment of a slave on board the ship "would be the same, whether he was a thief "or an honest man."

Obs. But the flave could not know this. Besides, does not common sense tell one that a man, who is put in the power of another,

would rather be thought innocent than guilty?

Mr. F. fays (p. 612) "All that I have "talked to have generally faid they were "stolen: I do not recollect that any of them "confessed their having been sold for crimes."

Obs. 1. If any of them did confess themselves to be criminals, it is unlucky that Mr. F. does not recollect their confessions, as well as the accounts of those who said they were stolen.

- 2. And if none confessed themselves to be criminals, then Mr. F. must believe some of their accounts to be salse, because he "believes "crimes to be one principal source of the sup-" ply of slaves."\*
- 3. But if some of their accounts are false, why are the instances, mentioned by Mr. F. as authentic, more likely to be true than any other? or rather does not this shew that no information of this sort is to be relied upon? †

\* P. 217.

Mr. T. Woolrich (as willing a witness against the slave trade as Mr. Falconbridge) received a very different account. He says (H. C. Rep. p. 277) "I had "a waiting boy who told me that he and his sister were "caught in the field as they were tending corn. Men "slaves

Mr. F. fays, (p. 585) "by an African war "I understand a piratical expedition for the "purpose of making slaves." And (p. 586) "an African trader told me, that the white men went to war like fools, when they knew their enemies were ready to receive them: but the blacks go in the night and set fire to the town, to catch their enemies "as they fly from the flames."

Obs. The North American Indians in their wars only aim at killing or taking their enemies by surprize; they never fight if they can avoid it; and blame the Europeans for meeting their enemies in the open field.—The circumstances being so strikingly similar, why is this predatory warfare in Africa to be imputed to the slave trade, when the same mode both of acting and reasoning prevails in America where there is no slave trade? The

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ilaves have told me, they have been surprised in the inight by a number of the enemy, who have taken them prisoners in their own houses, or in the village where they resided: some have told me, that they have been taken prisoners of war." Which proves that the slaves themselves (if they are to be credited) understand these attacks to be—not panyaring or kidnapping, but—wars.

fame effect may indeed proceed from different causes, but it requires something more than vague report or mere conjecture to prove this. It seems far more likely that, but for the slave trade, the effects of war would be throughout the same in both countries; and we all know how prisoners are treated in America.

From the following passages Mr. F. seems to be a very inconsiderate or a very partial witness. Mr. F. (p. 602) "thinks he has seen as great a surf at St. Christopher's as he ever did in Africa.

Obf. But it appears (p. 626) that Mr. F. was never on shore at St. Christopher's, but only on board a ship which touched there, and stood off and on while the Captain landed and returned.

Mr. F. (p. 591) "believes no man would "attempt to carry flaves without shackling them.

Obs. But some captains have taken the irons off, and without any bad consequences.\*

Mr. F. (p. 597) " used to think the ge-" neral treatment of flaves in Jamaica very " cruel."

<sup>\*</sup> See before p. 101.

Obs. 1. Mr. F. gives no other reason for this opinion than "that he saw a man in a "gaol at Black River, who had been so se-"verely flogged, that it was shocking to look at his back." This seems to be rather an insufficient reason for such a general opinion, especially as it appears (p. 627) that Mr. F. neither knew nor inquired about the cause of this punishment.

2. Mr. F. being asked (p. 627) "Whether

" he did or did not believe that from the

" man's being in gaol he had been punished

by sentence of a magistrate for some of-

" fence?" only answered that "he could not

" fay by what authority he was punished, as

" he did not inquire."

3. Mr. F. admits (p. 627) that "he never

" faw a flave flogged."

Mr. F. fays (p. 588) " in my fecond voy-

" age (viz. in the Emilia, Capt. Fraser) we

purchased as near as I can recollect 300

" negroes, and lost between 30 and 40."

Obs. Mr. F.'s recollection is proved to be very inaccurate, for by the Jamaica factor's account (H. C. Rep. p. 637) it appears that the number actually sold at Kingston was 306.

The evidence given by Mr. F. before the Committee of P. C. differs in some points from that given before the Committee of H. C.

Mr. F. when before the Privy Council, fpeaking of his two last voyages, makes the joint number of the two crews amount to 86, of which 17 died.\*

By his statement before the Committee of H. C. (p. 600) the joint number amounts to 94 or 95, and the deaths only 12.

Mr. F. when before the Privy Council, speaking of his last voyages, viz. from Bonny to Jamaica, says "the ship was not much crowded." And he says the same as to the ship in his third voyage, viz. from Bonny, to Grenada.

Before the Committee of H. C. Mr. F. fays (p. 589) that "the flaves had not fo "much room as a man has in his coffin, neither in length or breadth; and it was impossible for them to turn or shift with. any degree of ease. And (p. 629) that it was so in all his voyages."

<sup>\*</sup> P. C. Rep. part 2. tit. Evidence with respect to earrying slaves to the West Indies.

<sup>+</sup> Ib.

Obs. This looks like an attempt to amend or rather to do away his first evidence. Let us see how he succeeds.

Upon the cross examination (p. 629) Mr. F. being asked—" If he told the Privy Coun" cil that the ship was not much crowded in
" the second voyage? answered—" I believe
" I did." And being farther asked, " upon
" what grounds he said so?" answered—" I
" had no other grounds than that we had not
" the same number of slaves as we had the

" last voyage."

Now it happens that the Cross examiner mistook the evidence as it stands in the Privy Council's report, and Mr. F. followed him in the mistake. For Mr. F. when before the Privy Council faid nothing about the ship being crowded or not crowded in his fecond voyage; but speaking of his last voyage, viz. from Bonny to Jamaica, expressly says, that " the ship was not much crowded in "that voyage." Although before the Committee of the H. C. he fays, the greater number of flaves on board in this last voyage, was his reason for faying the ship was not much crowded in his fecond voyage. So that Mr. F. not only forgot what he had faid, but accounted also for what he had not said.

Mr. F. before the Privy Council, mentioned gold dust among the articles with which slaves are purchased at Bonny. Before the Committee of the H. C. he said, that "he "never saw or heard of any gold dust at "Bonny." Upon being cross examined to this point, he said, "if it is so stated in the "Report of the Privy Council, it is their "mistake and not mine."

Obs. 1. This answer is certainly not satisfactory. It appears by the Privy Council Report, (p. 6) that the evidence was arranged under the several heads by the gentlemen belonging to the office for trade; and that it is stated as nearly as possible in the very words in which it was given. It is therefore possible that what Mr. Falconbridge spoke as to one part of the coast, may by mistake have been transferred to another. But the paragraph (which the reader may see in the note \*) seems to be clear and perfect.

On

<sup>&</sup>quot;The flaves taken on board at Bonny were pro
"cured by the black traders, who go up to fairs in

"the country to purchase and bring them down to the

"coast. They pass through several hands and come

"from a great distance. They bring them in a mise
"rable

On the other hand, as there are clearly fome inaccuracies in Mr. F.'s evidence, and as he does not even recollect whether his evidence taken by the Privy Council was or was not read over to him, it is not improbable but this may be one more instance of Mr. F.'s inattention.

#### CAPTAIN HALL

Repeats \* (p. 515) his account of the treacherous transaction at Calabar, and says (p. 517) that "he relates this story upon the following "testimony: 1st. One Rutter, who was boatswain of the Canterbury, Capt. Sparkes, one of the ships concerned, told it him in 1772. 2dly. Two brothers of the King of Old Calabar, who were carried to the West Indies, whence they escaped to Bristol, and

<sup>&</sup>quot; rable condition from the fairs, half starved, and ex-

<sup>&</sup>quot; posed to the wet in boats with hardly any covering,

<sup>&</sup>quot; He (Mr. F.) does not know whether the flave tra-

<sup>&</sup>quot; ders pay for the flaves they purchase, in manufac-

<sup>&</sup>quot; tures or gold dust; but we pay for them in manufac-

<sup>&</sup>quot; tures and gold duft. We purchase the gold duft first

<sup>&</sup>quot;in order to pay for the flaves therewith." Priv. Co. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves.

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 80 of these observations.

" were fent home in 1775, told it him at that

" time, and their account agreed exactly with

" Rutter's. 3dly. (p. 527) Capt. H. faw at

" Calabar in 1775, depositions made by these

" two brothers and one Floyd (Mate of one

" of the ships concerned) containing an ac-

" count of the transaction. Lastly, (p. 537)

" He has feen a copy of these depositions \*

" fince he was examined by the Privy Council,

" which has enabled him to correct his ac-

" count in point of date, by altering 1768 to

" 1767."

Obs. 1. That Rutter the boatswain of one ship, Floyd the mate of another, and the King's two brothers (who are supposed to have been among the intended victims of this treachery) should all have been so equally and completely in the secret as to agree exactly in their accounts of the motives, design and execution of the whole business, is a most extraordinary instance of concurrent testimony; such indeed as rarely happens in accounts of

<sup>\*</sup> Surely the Committee should have made some inquiry about this copy; which, if extant and authenticated, would be much more regular and satisfactory evidence than Capt. H.'s statement of its contents stom memory only.

the fairest transaction, and is much less credible in a case of treachery and murder.

2. As Capt. H. remembered after an interval of many years that Rutter's account agreed exactly with the depositions, it might be reafonably expected, that his own accounts given before the Privy Council and the Committee of the H. C. would agree exactly too; but they differ in the following particulars.

Capt. H. fays

In the Priv. Co. Rep.

" -there were seven

" Thips which lay off

" the Point; two of

" these belonged to

"London, the other

" five to Liverpool and

" Bristol. The Cap-

tains of the Liver-

" pool and Briftol

" fhips \* agreed to in-

" vite, &c.

# In Committee H.C. Rep.

-there were seven

" fhips lying off the

" Point; the captains

" of fix + of the ships

"invited, &c.

<sup>\*</sup> This must be construed to mean "the Liverpool "and Bristol ships" only, and that the London ships were not concerned.

But as there were only five ships from Liverpool and Bristol, if fix were concerned, then one of the London ships must be included in this account.

"Four of the ships
delivered up the
prisoners they had
made to the new
town canoes. The
principal men \* of
the old town were
put to death in the
canoes.

"One captain, who "had secured two of the King's brothers, "refused to deliver them up.

"The captains of "five of the ships de"livered their priso"ners, who were per"fons of consequence, 
to the new town 
canoes; two of 
whom had their 
heads struck off in 
the canoes.

"One of the cap"tains, who had se"cured three of the
"King's brothers, de"livered up one of
"them, who had his
"head cut off along
"side the ship. The
"other two he kept
"on board.

These variances cannot be considered as immaterial; for (besides that they shew the inaccuracy of Capt. H.'s memory) in an accusation which tends, not only to discredit the slave trade, but to stigmatize particular persons

<sup>\*</sup> By the "principal men" generally, must be understood "all the principal men."

concerned in it, it is not a matter of indifference whether fix, five, or four Captains are charged with treachery and murder. Nor can these variances be imputed to any incorrectness in the Priv. Co. Report; for it appears that although Capt. H. has examined that Report of his evidence, and compared it with the copy of the depositions, he has only corrected the date, and has not objected to any of these passages as misreported.

3. In further support of this charge against the English captains, Mr. Miller (now gunner of the Pegase man of war) who was on board the Canterbury in Calabar River at the time of this transaction, appeared before the Committee.\* But his evidence proves nothing more previous to the affray, than that his Captain told him "that the people of the two towns were to meet on board the different ships," and his account differs in many parts from Rutter's, although they were both in the Canterbury.

On the other hand; Capt. Lace, who commanded the Edgar, one of the ships said to be concerned in this business, has given a very

<sup>\*</sup> See his evidence, H. C. Rep. p. 385.

different account: \* and if he may be credited, both himself and the other captains are exculpated from any treacherous design.

Upon the whole, there certainly was an affray between the people of the two towns, but it is by no means proved to have been premeditated even on the part of the natives, and still less that the English Captains were privy to any such plan.

Capt. H. repeats + (p. 525) his opinion that the flave trade is perfectly illegal and founded in blood."

Obs. 1. In p. 536. Capt. H. gives his reason for this opinion, viz. that "many slaves are "killed, and therefore he must be of opinion that it is a bloody trade;" which explanation seems to take away the force of the reproach. For the mere killing does not make an employment unlawful or sinful: all wars, and all voyages of discovery may in this sense be called bloody trades, yet they may certainly be just and even laudable.

Capt. H. fays (p. 525, 526) "he was con"vinced that the flave trade was perfectly
"illegal, and that he quitted it from con-

<sup>\*</sup> See his evidence, H. C. Rep. p. 634.

<sup>+</sup> See before, p. 79.

<sup>&</sup>quot; scientious

" scientious principles." Yet it appears (p. 554) that he now gets his livelihood by commanding a ship in the West India trade.

Obs. 1. There is certainly some inconfishency in this conduct, for a man uniformly and deliberately conscientious would not maintain himself by the immediate produce and consequences of a trade which he was convinced was unlawful. I should not, however, have taken any notice of this inconsistency, if the Committee had not thought it worth while to try to clear Capt. H.'s evidence from the objection by putting the following question to him.

"Do you think that a man, who should affign motives of feeling and tenderness for

" the animal creation as the reason for not

" choosing to exercise the trades of a butcher

" or drover, might, without subjecting him-

" felf to the charge of infincerity, continue

" to fustain himself and his family upon

" meat bought of butchers? (p. 556).

Capt, H. of course answered in the affirmative.

But the question, though ingenious, is fallacious and inapplicable; for Capt. H. did not quit the slave trade from feeling and tenderness, but from conscience. Feeling and Tenderness inspire they may produce good or bad actions, or no actions at all. But Conscience prescribes duties, which being once known become obligatory. A man's nerves may be so formed, that he shall sicken at seeing the shambles, yet be able to eat the meat; and although one may wonder at so singular a constitution, yet one has no reason to doubt his sincerity. But were a Clothier to profess a conscientious abhorrence of the offence of smuggling sheep into France, yet knowingly buy his cloth of the French merchant who manufactured their wool, one should at once pronounce his professions to be mere hypocrify and pretence.

2. Sensibility and Conscience act most forcibly on the mind, whilst the objects which excite them are before our eyes, and the impressions recently made: long intervals of space are observed to deaden both our feelings and remorse. One should therefore have expected that Capt. H.'s disgust at the slave trade would have been strongest whilst he was surrounded with slaves, that his resolution of quitting it would have been formed at that time, and executed immediately on his return to England by his engaging in some other other way of life. But it appears on the contrary (p. 548) that Capt. H. soon after his return from his second voyage, "agreed to "make a third as chief mate with Capt." King, as he wished to see the Gold Coast "where Captain King was bound; but that before the ship was in forwardness he wrote to Mr. Calvert (the owner) to decline going." So that Capt. H.'s opinion of the illegality and inhumanity of the slave trade was not conceived on the coast of Africa or on board of a slave ship, but whilst he was in England waiting the means of gratifying his wish of making a voyage to the Gold Coast.

3. It also appears (p. 548) that Capt. H. about the time he wrote to Mr. Calvert, had a legacy left him in the West Indies, whither he went soon after. But he expressly says (p. 526) that "quitted the trade from con-"fcientious principles, and not to receive this legacy in the West Indies;" without which declaration it would naturally occur, that it was this circumstance of the legacy which had induced Capt. H. to go immediately to the West Indies, and to decline so suddenly a voyage to the Gold Coast, which he but a short time before had wished to make. Nay,

Hh

Capt. H. owns (p. 548) "that he is not positive "that in his letter to Mr. Calvert he did not "tell him he was going to the West Indies "to receive a legacy." And yet if Capt. H. is certain that he did not go there with that view, he might (one should think) be positive of having never told Mr. Calvert that he did.

Capt. H. fays (p. 514) "in the rivers Del
"Rey and Calabar the black traders go up to
"procure flaves in armed canoes; but (p. 535)
"he believes they do not carry arms in order
"to commit hostilities, but to protect them"felves and their goods; yet (p. 558) he
"believes that they would carry off any per"fon by surprise if they could; not that he
"has even known an instance of it, but be"cause they would not consider it as a crime,

being in the constant habit of selling people."

Obs. These black traders told Capt. H. (p. 514) that their slaves were prisoners of war bought of the captors, and they took goods in their canoes to pay for them: therefore the presumption is that the trade is openly and regularly conducted. At least it is certainly an unfair inference to say, that because they sell, therefore they would not scruple to steal. It might as reasonably be said, that horse-

horsedealers would not consider horsestealing as a crime, because they are in the constant habit of selling horses.

The greater part of Capt. H.'s evidence relates to the bad treatment of the failors, (which fubject has been already confidered \*) and to the nature of the African coast, which Capt. H. feems to think less dangerous than it has been represented to be. On which last point I shall observe once for all, that if articles of a lucrative trade are ever brought down regularly and in abundance to the fea fide, there can be little doubt but European enterprize and ingenuity will contrive means of shipping them: but on the other hand it must be admitted, that the want of fafe ports, navigable rivers and convenient landing places, will add greatly to the difficulty, hazard, and expence of establishing fuch a trade in Africa.

## ANTHONY PANTALEO HOW, Esq.

A native of Poland; was in Africa in 1785 and 1786, in the Grampus man of war, employed by government as a botanist.

\* See the note, p. 48, of these observations.

Hh 2 Mr.

Mr. How fays (p. 219) "when he was at "Secundee, an order came from C. Coast "Castle; and between four and five o'clock in "the evening, several parties went out armed, "and returned the same night with a quantity of slaves, which were secured in the factory. "The next morning several of their relations and friends came to see them, and requested "Mr. Marsh (the resident) to release some of them. Some were accordingly released, but on what terms Mr. H. does not know; and some were sent to C. Coast." From all these circumstances Mr. H. thinks they were obtained by unfair means.

Obs. If these slaves were really seized and imprisoned by mere violence, and without any cause, (allowed in that country to be sufficient) it is not credible that their relations and friends would, the next morning, have put themselves in the power of those very persons who had committed this outrage; nor can any one understand why some were released and others not. But suppose them to have been condemned to slavery for crimes or debt, and kept at some distance from the factory until the time of their transportation, and this whole transaction is naturally accounted for. Upon

this supposition, their relations had nothing to fear in going to take leave of them; and those, who could substitute a slave, or any other equivalent, in the room of a condemned relation or friend, obtained his release.

Mr. H. fays (p. 222) at Secundee, Mr. Marsh shewed him the stores of the factory; "they consisted of different kinds of chains, "and an instrument made of wood, about five inches long, and one inch or less in diameter, which Mr. Marsh told him was thrust into a man's mouth horizontally, and tied behind him, to prevent him from crying out when transported at night along the "country."

Obs. According to the strict construction of the words, these chains and gags were the whole of the stores; and if so, it was certainly a most curious affortment. At the same time one must think the natives are but ill-qualified, either as kidnappers or artisans, if they are forced to resort to the company's stores for a wooden gag of the above description, and which (I have reason to believe) would not prevent a man crying out loud enough to be heard at a considerable distance.

Mr. How fays (p. 220) that "he found "cultivation

"there was but little of the flave trade, and the reverse where there was most." And (p. 221) "Winnebah and Acra are the parts of the sea shore where there is most cultivation." And (p. 227) "about Winnebah and Acra it is rocky within three miles of the coast; but the rest of the Gold Coast beyond the reach of the surf is every where fertile."

Obs. Why the blacks, who are certainly not very enterprizing husbandmen, should choose to bestow most cultivation on the rocky shore of Winnebah and Acra, when all the rest of the coast is fertile, one cannot comprehend, any more than how their cultivation should make this rocky shore productive.

2. I am furprized to find Winnebah mentioned as a place where there is but little of the flave trade; because the French (some time before Mr. How went to Africa) had begun to build a fort very near it for the purpose of extending their slave trade, of which the African Company complained\*. And as to Acra, Mr. Fountain says; † "many slaves are bought

<sup>\*</sup> See the memorial, dated 29th September, 1786.

Pr. Co. Rep. part 6 tit. France.

<sup>+</sup> See his evidence in H. C. Rep. p. 222.

"and fold there, although not so many as at "Tantum and Annamaboe." And, \* "at

"Acra, they plant little or no corn, and are

"obliged to be supplied by their neighbours." During my residence I have seen prodigious great want among the natives." Mr. Fountain resided many years on the Gold Coast; and, as he was examined nearly a year before Mr. How, could not give this evidence with

any view of contradicting him.

Mr. H. fays (p. 221) "At Appolonia he "went inland about fifteen miles, and found "the country every where well cultivated, and the inhabitants remarkably industrious. That he did not see any European commodities, particularly no brandy, as he could get none for his own use."

Obs. 1. Vegetation is so vigorous in all tropical countries, that where there is any soil besides mere rock and sand, the earth must, at certain seasons, wear some appearance of cultivation: but there are two sacts which render it highly improbable that any part of the Guinea Coast is really well cultivated or productive. 1. It does not appear

that the natives ever use any beafts of burthen or draught in their agriculture; and it is well known that in this science the mere hand of man can make but very mean progrefs. 2. Every flave thip takes out a large quantity of beans as food for the flaves. The lowest price of these beans, for the last five years, has been about 4s. 3d. the bushel, and 6s. 6d. the highest; \* but the highest and lowest price of corn on the Gold Coast, for some years, has been from 5s. to 3s. 7d. + and it is also generally believed, that the flaves do best with the food of their own country. Now it is not credible that our merchants would fend out a less useful article at an higher price, if they could reasonably expect to be better and cheaper victualled on the coast.

- 2. As Mr. H. represents the natives to be hospitable and industrious, I cannot but think he must have seen their brass, their pewter, their knives, and their hoes; but perhaps he did not recollect that they have all these metals from Europe.
- 3. That the natives had no brandy for Mr. H. I can easily believe; but not that they were

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. King's evidence, H. C. Rep. p. 252.

<sup>+</sup> See Mr. Fountain's evidence, H. C. Rep. p. 194.

therefore strangers to it; for to get and to keep are different things: I suppose the negroes drink the brandy as fast as they get it.

Mr. H. speaks (p. 222 and 228) of one Griffiths, an English trader residing between Cape la Hou and Appolonia, who was a notorious kidnapper; and that Capt. Thompson offered Mr. H. 1001. if he would catch him.

Obs. This Griffiths affords another instance\* that kidnapping is too dangerous a trade to be commonly followed, for he seems to have been hunted down as a public enemy. Capt. Thompson offered a reward for him: the residents of our factories wrote home to complain of him, and have the Company's directions: and, finally, the natives caught and put him to death. †

Mr. H. fays (p. 223) that "the flaves re"fused by the European traders were bought
"at a low price, and kept in the factory for
"mean employments."

Obs. There is reason to think that Mr. H. was misinformed in this particular. For Mr. Miles stated to the Privy Council the number

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Dove's evidence, ante, p. 209.

<sup>+</sup> See Mr. Fountain's evidence, H. C. Rep. 196, 197.

and employment of the flaves kept at the factories. They are about 400, and appear to be far more valuable than any of the flaves exposed to sale.\* Besides, it would be very strange if the residents at the sactories had either authority or inclination to maintain any indefinite number of unprositable slaves at the Company's expence.

Mr. H. says (p. 223) "he saw cinnamon of two sorts in the island of St. Thomas, the one not inferior to that imported from the East Indies: (and p. 227) he cannot positively "determine whether it was the same as grows in India, but it is the same that grows in Kew Gardens, which was brought from the East Indies. He has seen the cinnamon-tree in private gardens at Bombay and Cambay, which was brought by merchants as presents from Ceylon; "but he has never been at Ceylon."

Obs. From this evidence I am at a loss to discover whether Mr. H. does or does not believe the tree he saw on St. Thomas to be the true cinnamon. But I greatly question if any

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Fountain's evidence, Pr. Co. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves.

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merchant could or would venture to take a fingle plant of the true fort out of Ceylon: and I am very fure that if the true cinnamon were a native of St. Thomas, the Portuguese by importing it into Europe would soon put an end to the extortion of the Dutch, who have long engrossed this spice, and sell it at their own price.

Mr. H. in enumerating the natural productions of Africa, mentions palm oil, which he says (p. 223.) "bears an immense price" both at Winnebah and Acra."

Obs. I have inquired the price which palm oil bears in Africa and England; and have been affured that on the coast it may be had in any quantity, at from one penny to two pence per pound, medium price 12s. 6d. per cwt. and 12l. 10s. per ton. In England it is worth about 43l. per ton, \* which seems to be an extravagant profit; but the slave-ships can bring only a certain quantity, and it comes no other way: although if the demand here were considerable, I take it for granted it would be imported cheaper.

Giving credit to the above information, and having never heard that palm oil is dearer

<sup>+</sup> Spermaceti oil is worth about 471, per ton.

at Winnebah and Acra than in many other parts of the coast,\* I conclude, that Mr. How has been misinformed as to the immense price of this oil, and therefore doubt his information as to many other articles of African produce,

## MR. NINIAN JEFFREYS

Character Court Co. State Professor

Served in a merchantman from 1773 to 1779, and in the navy from 1782. He is now master in the navy. Has been at most of the islands, but speaks principally to Jamaica and Tobago.

Mr. J. fays (p. 234) that "he understood "that He was considered the best manager "who could send home the most sugar: and that he often heard it said, that such people "must be good managers for having sent home more sugar than the estate had for-"merly done. (And p. 239) this he heard supported by gentlemen about Kingston by

" white

<sup>\*</sup> If it was, the ships would probably carry some from other parts of the coast, to pay for the slaves brought at Winnebah and Acra: but there is no evidence of any such commerce.

"white men from the estates, but does not believe they were planters."

Obs. To increase the annual produce of an estate is certainly prima facie evidence of good management. But I dare say Mr. J. never heard it argued by merchant or planter, or any man of common sense, that it was good management to increase the produce by exhausting a stock which must be replaced at a very heavy expence. Such conversations, partially remembered and unexplained by the circumstances which introduced them, deferve not the name of evidence.

As to the rest of his evidence—Mr. J. says (p. 231) "that he had frequent op"portunities of observing the plantation slaves,
being employed as second mate in landing
goods and shipping sugars. And (p. 238
and 239) that he was about four months
each voyage at Tobago and Jamaica, and
generally resided on board his ship, except sometimes visiting three or sour estates
for a single day, and riding twice or
thrice to a friend's house in Tobago, which
was not a sugar estate.

Obs. Upon comparing the whole of this evidence, I cannot admit that Mr. J.'s opportunities

tunities for observation were frequent. Whilst he was shipping sugars, his attention was otherwise engaged; and during his very short visits it is not probable that, by choice, and without any particular motive, he passed much time in observing the treatment of the slaves. His remarks, therefore, must be very superficial, and could have but little weight, even if they were not opposed by the testimony of many witnesses,\* who were better informed than Mr. J. could possibly be.

## MR. JAMES MORLEY

Was entered on board a flave-ship at about ten years of age in 1760; from that time to 1776 made six voyages; has been in the King's service ever since, and is now gunner of the Medway.

Mr. M. fays (p. 150) that "he left the "African Trade on account of the ill usage "mostly that he had received himself, and "feen towards others."

Obs. This does not accord with what Mr. M. fays (p. 161) viz. "I have seen great se-

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Bailie's evid. ante, 174. in not.

"verity in all the vessels that I have been in out of Bristol; but in my last voyage from Liverpool with Captain Butler in the Whim, I did not see this severity carried on, neither with the slaves nor the men. I have known him send the only bit of fresh provisions from his own table to the sick
slaves." As therefore Mr. M. continued in this trade for five voyages in which he was ill used, and lest it after the only voyage in which he was not ill used, it should seem that ill-usage was not his true reason for leaving it; unless we suppose that his disgust at the severity became greater as the severity itself became less.

Mr. M. fays (p. 152) "He knew an in"ftance of a flave, which the Europeans had
"refused to buy, being employed in the black
"trader's plantation, and is convinced this is
"a common practice."

Obs. A black trader would scarce put a slave to death on the first refusal, but wait for another ship, or the funeral of some great man.\* Twenty such instances as this given

<sup>\*</sup> See the evidence of M. M. Miles and Weuves, H. C. Rep. p. 42, 135, 141.

by Mr. M. would be no fatisfactory answer to the questions urged by the advocates for the slave-trade, viz. What is the fate of slaves absolutely refused by the Europeans? What in the present state of society of Africa would probably be the fate of prisoners of war, convicts, and insolvent debtors, if the slave-trade were universally abolished?\*

Mr. M. fays (p. 153.) "I have myself (I tell it with shame) made the natives drunk when I have seen a good man or woman, and have given them an extraordinary price for the same. I have seen it done by others. Captain Hildebrand paid an extraordinary price for a woman, one of a man's wives, after making him drunk: the man wished to redeem her the next day, and so did the person I bought the man of, but we did not give them up, neither He nor I."

Obs. 1. But in p. 166, Mr. M. says—" he never knew any instances of defrauding the natives, except making them drunk to get

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Fountain is fure that a total abolition of the flave-trade by all nations would produce a scene of carnage from one end of the coast to the other. H. C. Rep. p. 179.

<sup>&</sup>quot; them

" them (the flaves) as cheap as he could." Both these accounts cannot be true: for if Mr. M. never made them drunk but to buy cheap, it follows that he did not make them drunk to buy " a particular flave at an extraordinary " price." The reader must determine for himfelf, which part of Mr. M.'s evidence deserves most, or rather least credit. But Mr. M. apparently wishes to put the slave trade in the worst possible light; and a man may from a particular motive represent even his own conduct worse than it has really been; especially when he has no punishment to fear, and may hope that the odium will be done away as to himself by the supposed ingenuousness of his confession.

2. Were this a known practice upon the coast, it must have been mentioned by some of the other witnesses, who have shewn themselves equally adverse to the slave trade with Mr. M. especially as this mode of procuring slaves by intoxication on board, must have lain within their own knowledge, rather more than kidnapping or salse accusations in the country.

Mr. M. (p. 155) tells a story of a negro K k whom

whom the Captain made drunk with brandy and laudanum, and then fecured and carried him off. It appears that Mr. M. was present, but he has not named the Captain.

Obs. If any one did really commit this villainy, he has no claim to have his name concealed; neither has Mr. M. shewn any fuch delicacy towards others whom he has accused of misconduct. It is perfectly fair, therefore, to impute his suppressing the name to a fear of being contradicted. Were fuch charges as this to have any weight, whole bodies of men might be calumniated without the poffibility of justifying themselves.

Mr. M. speaking (p. 156) of his fourth voyage, viz. in the Tom, Capt. Matthews, fays-" When the ship came into Gaboon " River, Capt. Matthews defired one Quinnel (his mate) to pass for captain of the vessel while he hid himself. Two of the natives " came on board, who positively told Quin-" nel he was not captain; upon which Mat-" thews came from his hiding place laughing. "These blacks then asked him-what he had " done with their fons and the boys which he " had carried off? And told him-that he

" fhould

"if he did they would have his head; and then went ashore in their canoe." And Mr. M. adds (p. 162) "that one Walker informed a Captain Punter, that on this account the K. of Nazareth killed Capt. Lambert, (whose ship belonged to the same owners as that which Matthews commanded ed) at his own table, seized the ship and put all the people to death except three. That Walker was on board at the time, and made his escape by knowing the tongue as well as English."

Obs. 1. This is a very extraordinary story. Nothing but the strangest mixture of rashness and folly could prompt these two men to put themselves in the power of Matthews; the very man who is supposed to have kidnapped their sons; merely to tell him that "they "would cut off his head if he went on "shore."

2. How these men knew that Quinnel was not Captain of the Tom, and that Matthews was, although it does not appear that he had ever sailed in that ship before, or that the ship had ever been there before, is wholly unaccounted for.

3. What expectation Matthews could have that fuch a trick could ferve any purpose? since if he intended to trade there, he could not be always concealed, but must unavoidably be seen; and if he did not, then wherefore should he conceal himself, or what had he to sear? Indeed it appears that he had in sact nothing to sear; for Mr. M. says (p. 150) that he was a good way up the Gaboon River, and the country lying upon it, and (p. 159) the ships brought away 150 flaves," I presume her proper cargo.

4. I take it for granted that Capt. Lambert was killed; but one may learn from the accufation against Capt. Bibby, \* that if the Africans can get an opportunity of plundering or extorting, they will seldom want a pretext.

5. And as to Mr. Walker's information, however Mr. M. came by it, + yet if all the other parts of his evidence were unexceptionable, one might be inclined to admit this report as a confirmation of Matthews's milbeha-

<sup>\*</sup> Ante p. 107, which account is confirmed by the evidence of Mr. James Baillie, H. C. Rep. p. 205.

Mr. M. does not say that Capt. Punter told it him.

viour: but as it is, I shall only observe, that the Report itself wants confirmation; and that it is not clear how Mr. Walker's knowledge of the tongue could be the means of his escaping from an affray, which began by killing the captain at his own table in the presence \* of Walker.

## THE REV. JOHN NEWTON

e out if bis allully bein by the

Has made five voyages to Africa: refided about a year and half on the island of Plantains in the mouth of the river Sherbro: made three of the voyages as master of a slave ship: but has not been in Africa since 1754.

Mr. N. fays (p. 140)—"he does not think the natives naturally indolent. They cul-

- " tivate the ground upon the windward coast
- " fufficiently, not only to supply themselves,

" but the ships with rice."

Obf. The expression—supplying the ships—

\* It appears (p. 163) that Walker the cook, and a boy were the only persons that escaped. It is not probable that the cook or boy were present at the table, or that (if they were) they should understand what passed, I therefore must suppose Walker himself to have been present, and heard the K. of Nazareth declare the reason of his attack on Capt. Lambert.

requires

requires explanation. The ships are indeed supplied with the surplus of the produce which can be spared from the home consumption; but that surplus is by no means to be depended upon as a sufficient supply.\*

Mr. N. fays (p. 139)-" he has known

- " both ships and boats cut off by the natives;
- " but is has usually been by way of retalia\_
- " tion."

Obs. Probably the character of the Africans is somewhat civilized by their intercourse with the Europeans: but I find no reason to believe it to be so totally changed from what it formerly was, + as that they should not be frequently the aggressors.

Mr.

\* See ante, p. 239, 240.

The King of Fida told me—" that his people would not, like those of the neighbouring countries,

" poison the Europeans upon the least umbrage, but

" that they seemed to be born expert thieves." Bosman 324.

The inhabitants of Druwyn, on the Ivory Coast, are particularly savage. Bosman 451.

The natives of the Ivory Coast are so rude, that sew Europeans dare go on shore. Barbot. Churchill's Collect. v. 5, p. 139.

The natives of Sangwyn, on the Grain Coast, hold dextrous robbery lawful and expedient. Bosman 447.

Mr. N. fays (p. 141) "Being on shore,

- " he was once called away and put into his
- " boat by the traders, who told him, that a
- " ship which had just passed by, had carried
- " off two of their people, and had this been
- " known in the town he would have been de-
- " tained. That he has known many instances
- " of fimilar depredations, but (p. 147) cannot
- " at fuch a distance of time, viz. 36 years,
- " take upon himself to specify them, although
- " he has no doubt that there were fuch re-
- " peated and indifputable facts. He has more
- " than once or twice made up breaches of this
- " kind between the ships and the natives."

The negroes of Rio Sestro, on the Grain Coast, are very treacherous and bloody. Churchill's Collect. v. 6. p. 195.

The natives on the river Gaboon are barbarous, wild, bloody and treacherous. Barbot, p. 391.

The natives about the river Mitomba (on the coast of Sierra Leone) are generally malicious and turbulent, frequently quarrelling among themselves and with the Europeans. Barbot, p. 100.

N. B. Bosman and Barbot (especially the first) are supposed to have known the coast of Africa better than any Europeans of their time: and whoever will take the trouble of comparing them with later authors, will find that since their time we have not learned much more of Africa than they had told us.

Obs. 1. It is reasonable that a man should decline speaking particularly to a variety of facts after an interval of thirty six years; but it is not reasonable that he should be permitted to establish such facts by merely saying—" He has no doubt but they happened."

2. It does not appear that Mr. N. made any mention of these depredations before the Privy Council; \* yet he might naturally have introduced them among the other methods of pro-

curing flaves.

Mr. N. being asked by the Committee (p. 149) "if in speaking of depredations and "other matters, wherein he could not call to mind the particular facts, he could not be sure that he formed his conclusions upon premises in which he was at that time sully "grounded?" answered—"most certainly he could."

Obs. 1. This is a very easy method of extracting evidence out of no evidence, and curing the defects of a bad memory and a great lapse of time. But what has been said upon Mr. Baggs's evidence + is equally applicable here.

<sup>\*</sup> See his evidence, Pr. Co. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves. † Ante, p. 23.

Mr. Baggs afferted the certainty of a result drawn from information which he had forgotten; and Mr. N. has no doubt of an opinion formed upon facts which he has also forgotten, notwithstanding they fell within his own knowledge, and that in some of them he himself was concerned as a Mediator of Peace.

2. Admitting all that Mr. N. believes of these depredations to be true; yet it is highly probable that in the course of six and thirty years some change for the better has taken place. The slave trade is certainly considerably increased within that time, and an increase of trade commonly produces an increase of mutual considence and fair-dealing between the parties, because in truth they find it for their mutual advantage.

Mr. N. (p. 142) believes—" many were fold for flaves whose punishment otherwise would have been trifling."

Obs. And many perhaps whose punishment would have been capital. Those, who were not bought, were not much better off; for Mr. N. says \*—" he believes they led a "dog's life, and has heard that some of them

<sup>\*</sup> See Pr. Co. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves.

" have been knocked on the head with the

" paddles of the boat that brought them."

#### THE REV. ROB. BOUCHER NICHOLLS

Was born in Barbadoes: was educated in England: refided in Barbadoes for two years, viz. from 1768 to 1770 upon a very large estate, where he observed the management of that and other surrounding estates.

Mr. N. fays (p. 326) "Some of the flaves " appearing to be well taken care of and others " feverely treated, the impression made upon " his mind by these latter occasioned him to " fay-This people will find a Moses-; by " this expression, (p. 345) which he uttered " as a believer in Divine Providence and Di-" vine Revelation and an euthufiaftic admirer " of the constitution of this country, he mean't " that God would in his own feafon bring de-" liverance to the captive; and hopes that in " this instance he may be found a prophet." (And p. 346) " he confiders liberty as the " first comfort in life as well as an unalienable " right. (And p. 355) Mr. Locke fays-that " the state of slavery is so debasing and de-" grading that he does not fee how any man, 66 much

much less any gentleman can urge any plea for it."

Obj. 1. This enthusiastic spirit of liberty and prophecy may qualify Mr. N. very well for a Writer, but very badly for a Witness, against the slave trade. Under the impression of these ideas it is not credible that he should give his testimony with that impartiality which alone can intitle it to any weight; on the contrary he must be suspected of applying every thing he has seen, heard or thought upon this subject, in a manner the most savourable to his own opinions and wishes. I shall not, therefore, enter into a minute examination of his evidence, but only endeavour to shew from a few passages that the whole is objectionable on the score of partiality.

2. Besides that the Israelites were under the immediate direction of God for certain mysterious purposes, the external and worldly circumstances of their situation in Egypt were very different from those of the Negroes in the West Indies. These have been bought in a country where slavery does and always has existed, and the severity exercised over them is far from general, and never (for aught that appears) for the mere sake of oppression. But

260

I do not find that the Israelites either were sold or ever sold themselves to Pharaoh, as the Egyptians had done for bread: \* yet " the " Egyptians made the children of Israel to " ferve with rigour, all their service wherein " they made them serve was with rigour. † And this for the express purposes of preventing them to multiply or to facrifice to God in the wilderness. ‡

3. The passage quoted from Mr. Locke is the first sentence of his treatises on government, a work which in the opinion of many, contains a theory more dangerous than useful. But be that as it may; if Mr. N. had looked a little farther into the same work, he might have satisfied himself that Mr. Locke in the above passage was speaking of the general political slavery of a Nation governed by an absolute Prince, and not of the relation which subsists between free subjects and enslaved subjects of the same state: for this latter sort of slavery Mr. Locke describes § to be "nothing" else but the state of war continued between

<sup>\*</sup> Genesis, ch. xlvii. ver. 18 and seq.

<sup>+</sup> Exodus, ch. i. ver. 13 and 14.

<sup>!</sup> Exodus, ch. v. ver. 10 and 11.

<sup>§</sup> V. 2. p. 179. 178. fol. edit.

" a lawful conqueror and a captive; i. e. " where a man by his fault has forfeited his " life by some act that deserves death; he to " whom it is forfeited, may delay to take it " and make use of him to his own service." And if Mr. Nicholls had gone a little farther still, he would have found in Mr. Locke's code of laws for Carolina \* the following clause, " Every freeman of Carolina shall have " an absolute dominion over his negro flave " of whatever religious opinion or perfuation " he may be." Mr. Locke was too wife a man not to know, that to reason upon abstract principles, and to make laws were two very different things: the former allow nothing for circumstances; but laws, unless they are made with a reference to the fituation and difposition of the people they are to govern, become either mischievous or of no effect.

Mr. N. (p. 350) "thinks the climate of this country more favourable to the peafantry here, than that of Barbadoes is to the negroes; because one is a temperate and the other a torrid climate; and there must be less fatigue in working in tempe-

<sup>\*</sup> V. 3. fol. edit.

" rate and even cold weather than in very

" hot, as one may experience in walking."

Obs. Mr. N. here overlooks one very obvious and material circumstance, viz. that negroes are natives of a torrid climate, and \* may therefore suffer much less from a tropical sun than our reapers do from a hot day in August.

Mr. N. in farther support of this opinion fays (p. 351) "the Vicar of West Whitton in Yorkshire, informed me that out of nearly 500 inhabitants he had no return to make of deaths in 16 months: and he believes no example nearly alike to this can be produced in the healthiest situation of the islands; which among other reasons determines my own judgment upon the matter."

Obs. Mr. N.'s judgment must be very prone

Obs. Mr. N.'s judgment must be very prone to this determination to be at all influenced by this single instance, which probably never happened before nor ever may again, either in West Whitton or any where else. By the same mode of reasoning I could contend that

Barbadoes

<sup>\*</sup> Sir Ashtom. W. Byam observed to the Committee, that he has often seen the negroes sit and bask in the sun, when he could not have borne to stand in it for a sew minutes. See his evidence, H. C. Rep. 107.

Barbadoes is exactly as healthy as Mr. N.'s own parish of Stony Stanton in Leicestershire: in which Mr. N. says (p. 352) the deaths have for many years been in the proportion of 12 to 370. Or between 3½ to 3½ per cent. And it happens that the average annual deaths in all the stocks of slaves specified by Mr. Brathwaite \* are also as near as possible to 3½ per cent. But whoever has been but slightly conversant with writings upon population and mortality knows, that twenty instances of particular districts would warrant no general conclusion as to the healthiness of an extensive country.

Mr. N. in farther support of this opinion says, (p. 351) "that although according to "Mr. Hume, London, requires an annual "recruit of 5000 to keep up its population, yet it is contended that 50,000 are yearly

- " required to keep the number of negroes
- " although they scarcely exceed half a mil-
- " lion. That Mr. Long states 47,000 to have
- " been imported into the British islands, A.D. " 1771; and into Jamaica 10,000 one year,
- " 16,000 the following year, and 9000 ano-

<sup>\*</sup> Pr. Co. Rep. part 3. tit. Barbadoes. A. No. 12 and 34.

"ther year. That he understood they were
"for the use of the British islands in general;
"but some might be re-exported, which he
"did not conceive to be of any considerable
"amount; and he was consirmed in this
"opinion by what he had seen extracted from
"the Abbé Raynal in other publications on
"that subject."

Obf. If Mr. N. instead of resting so well fatisfied with the extracts from l'Abbe Raynal and the Old Jewry publications, had recollected that 47,000 flaves at only 351. per flave (a moderate average price for some years past) would amount to 1,645,000 l. He would have feen the abfurdity of supposing the British planters able to make such an enormous annual disbursement, and would no longer have conceived that the re-export of flaves was not to any confiderable amount. And if he had confulted the Privy Council Report, he would have found it proved, from the accounts delivered in by the Inspector General of the ports in the West Indies \*, that the annual average of negroes retained in all the islands for the four years 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, amounts

<sup>\*</sup> Pr. Co. Rep. part 4. No. 4.

to no more than 17,591. And that the annual average number of flaves exported for the same period amounted to 4991, forming a total of 22,582, imported into the British islands instead of the 47,000 stated by Mr. N.

These instances may serve to shew Mr. N.'s manner of considering the subject, and to excuse me for not entering into a more minute examination of his evidence.

#### ISAAC PARKER

Has made three voyages to Africa, in 1764, 1765, and 1766, as foremast-man, and is now ship-keeper on board the Melampus frigate.

Mr. P.'s memory is too inaccurate to be relied upon after an interval of four-and-twenty years. For he fays (p. 128) that "in his "fecond voyage he left Liverpool in the La-"tham about October or November, 1765." And that after being nine months on the "coast, he ran away from his ship, and went and lived with one Dick Ebro (a black trader) five months (p. 130) and (p. 131) then went in the Dalrymple to Barbadoes, whence he made a voyage to Senegal in the M m

"Ohara and returned to England in the sum"mer 1766."

Obs. Although Mr. P. has repeated this account, and after recollection, yet it is clear he lost a year in his reckoning. For allow two months for the voyage from Liverpool to the coast, and add them to nine months with the ship on the coast, and five with Ebro, the whole amounts to fixteen months, and of course carries the time from October, 1765, to January, 1767, before he left Africa in the Dalrymple; consequently Mr. P. could not return to England before the summer of 1767.

Mr. P. says (p. 124) "he has told the cir-"cumstances of his voyages to different people "in different ships in talking about voyages."

Obf. Some of the facts stated by Mr. P. require stronger confirmation than his own frequent repetition of them: for travellers have been known to repeat strange stories until they themselves have seemed to believe them, whatever their hearers might think of the matter.

Mr. P. fays (p. 121, 122) "the flaves in "his first voyage were very well treated, ex"cept a child which took sulk and would "

"not eat. The Captain flogged it with a cat; its feet being fwollen, the Captain had them put into hot water (although the cook faid it was too hot) which brought off the skin and nails; then the Captain had them bathed in oil and wrapped in cloth. After this he flogged the child with a cat, and kept a log weighing 13lbs. round its neck for four days running, because it would not eat: (p. 128) the Captain would have let the child suck its mother, but it refused the breast: and (p. 127) the child was about nine months old."

Obs. Had the Captain wished to be rid of this child, it should seem that he had only to leave it to itself. But by letting the mother offer the breast, and by bathing its feet, it is clear that he wished it to live. Now that a man should expect to save the life of an infant of nine months old by intentionally scalding the skin and nails off its feet, and flogging and loading it with a log of 1 3lbs. for four successive days is totally incredible: it would be the conduct of an absolute Lunatic.

Mr. P. says (p. 123, 124.) "in his second "voyage (viz. in the Latham to Old Calabar) "he ran away from the ship and went to one M m 2 "Dick

"Dick Ebroat New Town, where he lived five "months. Ebro asked him if he would go "to war with him, and he answered, he did " not care. Accordingly he went up the ri-" ver twice with him in armed canoes with-" out any goods on board. When they were " near any towns, they concealed themselves " until night, when they attacked the towns "and took all the inhabitants they could " catch. They caught about forty-five flaves " each time. He does not know that Ebro was "at war with any body. The distance be-"tween New Town and Old Town is four " miles or better; and to the best of his re-"membrance the inhabitants of the two " towns were friends while he was there."

Obs. 1. This mode of warfare has been already considered:\* and as Ebro must be supposed to know the difference between making war and panyaring, I see no reason for his calling his expedition "a war," if it was not so. Besides, although Mr. P. says "that "the inhabitants of the two towns were to the best of his remembrance friends;" yet if his own account be true, he certainly was at Calabar in 1767; and the transaction related by Captain Hall proves, that in 1767 the two

<sup>\*</sup> Ante, p. 219.

2. Mr. P. profited so little by his residence with Ebro that he does not even know the distance between the Old and New Town. Capt. Hall has been informed that it is about eight miles; \* by the map it seems to be more.

#### THE REV. THOMAS GWYNN REES

Went to the West Indies as Chaplain in the Princes's Amelia in 1782, arrived at Barbadoes in December; (p. 254) "staid there is fix weeks; during which time (p. 247) he was on shore almost every day, visiting fuch parts of the island as lie within four or five miles of Bridge Town, for the express purpose of making observations on the situation of the slaves, in consequence of what he had heard in England relative to their treatment."

Obs. Considering Mr. R.'s station and intention, his observations do not appear to be so

<sup>\*</sup> See his evid, H. C. Rep. p. 529.

#### STO REV. THOMAS GWYNN RE S.

accurate, his inquiries fo candid, or his accounts fo confiftent as might have been expected.

Mr. R. fays (p. 247) "the appearance of the negroes struck him with the impression that they were not well fed. Yet (p. 255) he made very little inquiry refecting their food, only he was told by one of the negroes that their chief food was from the corn and cane juice. But it was his intention to be better informed by Mr. Prettyjohn (a merchant and planter) but the sudden departure of the ship defined him from it."

Obs. I believe it is not denied that in crop time \* the slaves make cane-juice a principal part of their food, and that they never thrive better than at that season, notwithstanding the extraordinary labour. But when Mr. R. was in Barbadoes, that island had not recovered from the dreadful consequences of the hurricane in October, 1780. + And therefore the appear-

<sup>\*</sup> When Mr. R. was there.

by Mr. Braithwaite (P. C. Rep. part 4. tit. Population) it appears that in 1780, prior to the hurricane, the number of negroes was 68,284. In 1781 they

appearance of the negroes was probably much worse than usual. This does not however excuse Mr. R. for neglecting to make more inquiries as to their food; nor can it be admitted that six weeks did not afford sufficient times for such inquiries, especially as their being ill sed was the first circumstance that made an impression upon him.

Mr. R. fays (p. 251) "he faw three or "four gangs of negroes at work every time "he went on shore. Yet (p. 255) he does "not suppose he was upon a score of estates: "nor (p. 254) does he recollect the names "of any of the proprietors of those estates."

Obs. It is not easy to understand how Mr. R. could see so many gangs at work, and yet be upon so sew estates: and although he might not remember all, yet he might surely be able to name some of the proprietors; especially when it is recollected that Mr. R. went

were reduced to 63,208. And they continued to decrease until 1785. It is easy to conceive that the destruction of the buildings, canes, and ground provisions must occasion great suffering among both masters and slaves; who are thus at once deprived of their usual support from the estates, and the means of procuring it elsewhere.

with

with a view to observe upon their treatment of the flaves.

Mr. R. fays (p. 248) "he asked a negro" who was with child, if she was forced to

work as much as the rest, and she said,

e yes. And (p. 260) this woman was mak-

ing holes for the corn with a hoe, which

"he judges may be about as laborious as

es reaping in England, and that he has feen

" pregnant women reaping in Wales."

Obs. Upon the whole then it appears from this evidence that the work of labouring women in Barbadoes is about the same as in many parts of this country. At the same time I cannot but observe that if Mr. R. had inquired of others besides the negroes themfelves, he would probably have discovered that pregnant women have in general every reasonable indulgence.\*

Mr. R. fays (p. 249) "he faw a girl chained to a large block, and feeding the mill with canes. She told him she had

" been chained fo for two months, could not

" leave the place, but was forced to lie on the

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 124, 125. and the evidence of Sir Ashton, W. Byam. H. C. Rep. p. 102. of Mr. Franklyn. ib. p. 89. and of Mr. Thomas (furgeon) ib. 248.

<sup>&</sup>quot; ground,

ground, and was to fuffer that punishment a twelvemonth." Mr. R. on his cross examination says (p. 257) "he did not ask to whom this girl belonged, nor did he wish to know, as it might prejudice him against a man who, in many other respects, might be a valuable man. And (p. 260) "he thought the girl must be mistaken in what she said, as she could have no canes all the year round to feed the mill."

Obs. 1. Mr. R. carries charity very far in supposing that a master, capable of punishing a slave in this manner, could be in any respect a valuable man. To hate such a man would not be prejudice, but honest indignation:

2. Mr. R. told this story to the Committee without any comment. Yet it appears from his cross-examination that he himself believed her account to be not only aggravated but impossible to be true.

Mr. R. fays (p. 249) "near Bridge Town he found a woman lying on the ground, who had been so severely flogged that she could hardly move, and on examining the marks, her left side seemed to be in a mortifying state, and almost covered with N n worms.

" worms. It appeared impossible for her to

" recover without medical affiftance. She

" faid the was going to Bridge Town but

" could get no farther. Mr. R. asked her if

" she could eat, and on her answering-yes

" - fent a negro to fetch her some victuals,

" and then left her for a few hours. On his

" return, he faw her again and asked her if

" the man had brought her any thing, and

" fhe faid-yes-and appeared very thankful,

" and (p. 257) she told him to whom the

" belonged, but Mr. R. does not recolled."

Obj. In this story the following circumfrances feem to be rather extraordinary and not well accounted for.

1st. That the master of this woman should suffer her to go at large and expose such effects of his cruelty wherever she went.

2dly. That Mr. R. should, after having been once told it, ever forget the name of so cruel a master.

3dly. That a person almost unable to move, and in a mortifying state from laceration by a whip, should have any inclination for common food.

4thly. That Mr. R. did not take some steps towards procuring her some medical assistance without without which he thought it impossible she could live.

Lastly. That the woman should, at Mr. R.'s return to her, appear thankful for the victuals the man brought her; since Mr. R. being asked (p. 261) " what food he sent " for"—answers—" the man was not return—" ed when he lest her."

## LORD RODNEY

In his evidence bears a very honourable testimony to the behaviour of the West Indian planters towards their slaves. He also considers the West Indian trade to be of great importance, and that it would certainly be reduced by the Abolition of the slave trade; which latter trade also certainly supplies the navy with some seamen. (p. 469, 470.) But his Lordship surther says (p. 476) "it is not a unrsery for seamen, that is certain." And in this he is confirmed by Sir George Yonge, who says (p. 209) "it is by no means a Nursery, but rather "a Grave."

Obs. Evidence should never be expressed in figurative language, for every one may not understand the metaphor in the same sense or ex-

tent. Here for instance, if the question had been put according to its true meaning, viz, "Whether there are or are not more British " feamen employed in confequence of the " flave trade than if no fuch trade existed?" the answer could hardly have been in the negative. Admiral Arbuthnot feems to have fettled this point in a few plain words-" if " (fays he page 410) there are ships employ-" ed in any trade, and the seamen do not " all die, those who return will be useful to " the country." And he adds-" the Guinea " ships were of very great use last war in " manning our fleets at the Windward " Islands." And in this he is confirmed by Sir Peter Parker and Capt. Lambert, who was Commissioner of the Navy at Port Royal. \*

# THOMAS TROTTER, M. D. a Surgeon in the Royal Navy,

Has made one voyage in the flave trade, in 1783, as surgeon of the Brookes, Clement Noble, master. (p. 80.)

<sup>\*</sup> See their evidence, H. C. Rep. p. 479 and p. 419, Although

Although this gentleman's evidence is of confiderable length, yet I shall only make two general observations upon it.

but received most of his information from interpreters, whom I am persuaded he frequently misunderstood; of which the following pas-

fage affords a strong instance.

Dr. T. fays (p. 85.) " having often heard " the flaves in the night howling and making " a melancholy noise expressive of extreme " anguish; he repeatedly ordered his inter-" preter to inquire the cause, and he found " that it was occasioned by finding them-" felves in a flave-room, after dreaming that they had been in their own country among " their friends and relations." Now as it is incredible that a number of people should often and at the same times make the same kind of howling in confequence of having had the fame dream; I must either suppose that Dr. T. meant to impose upon the Committee, or was himself imposed upon, or misunderstood his interpreter: I prefer the last as the most favourable excuse for this strange story; and conclude that he was mistaken in this, and

and therefore probably was in many other in-

2. Dr. T. is in many parts of his evidence directly and expressly contradicted by Mr. Noble under whom he failed. Mr. Noble, indeed, speaks principally to exculpate himself from some charges of cruelty towards his failors and flaves; but it also appears from feveral passages (p. 95, 98, 99, 109) that Dr. T. entertains a confiderable degree of refentment against Mr. Noble for some difrespectful behaviour to himself during the voyage; so that neither appears to be wholly unbiaffed and exempt from motives of misrepresentation: and where there is an abundance of other evidence, it is never worth while to discuss minutely the contradictory testimony of two witneffes fo circumstanced.

## MR. WADSTROM,\*

The account of the method of procuring flaves given by this gentleman to the Committee of the House of Commons, although not absolutely contradictory, is yet so different

<sup>\*</sup> See before, p. 158.

from what he gave to the Privy Council, \* that few readers would suppose they both came from the same person. Without going through the whole, it may be fufficient to observe that before the Privy Council Mr. W. faid " the " Mundingoes, who live in the interior part of the country, buy the flaves and bring " them to certain places where they are met " by the traders who bring them down to the " coast"—but says nothing of a general pillage by order of the King. Before the Committee of the House of Commons Mr. W. says (p. 22) " the first way of obtaining slaves is what " they call the general pillage which is exe-" cuted by order of the King"—and fays not one word about the Mundingaes.

So in speaking of the wars which were carried on in Senegal when he was there. Mr. W. says + "We were prevented penetrating "into the interior part of Africa, by the "wars between the negroes and the Moors, "and also between the negroes and the French settled at Senegal. The latter arose on ac"count of the exclusive privilege granted to "the Senegal Company for the gum trade,

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves.

<sup>+</sup> Ib.

and which the French extended to every fort of trade on the river Senegal, to the great offence of all the inhabitants."-But before the Committee of the House of Commons Mr. W. fays (p. 28) " the King of " Dalmanny having had a better education, " would not fuffer any strong liquors to be " used; and being attentive to the cultivation " of the country, had intirely prohibited the " flave trade throughout his whole kingdom, of fo as not to fuffer the passage of slaves " through his dominions, &c. upon which " the French bribed the Moors and fupplied of them with arms to feize on King Dal-" manny's fubjects and bring them in as " flaves." Before the Privy Council Mr. W. never named this King Dalmanny; and before the Committee of the House of Commons he feems to have totally forgotten the exclusive privilege; and as his last evidence is much more confonant with the ideas and language of the advocates for an Abolition of the flave trade, it looks as if Mr. W.'s memory had adopted what he has read or heard in England, instead of reverting to what he had himself obferved in Africa.

I have faid \* that no mal-practices of the French ought to be charged upon the English, nor should any one wish to palliate such practices. But it is no more than justice to obferve that the French African Company was particularly embarraffed at this time. For Mr. W. fays (p. 28) "the Company was obliged " by its charter to furnish Cayenne with 400 " flaves, and had been disappointed of the " usual supply from Galam by means of King " Dalmanny's having the trade in his domi-" nions, while the ships were detained at a " great expence in the river waiting for their " cargoes." In fuch an emergency the Company might possibly have recourse to extraordinary means of force or fraud, which would not be allowed in the common course of their trade.

Mr. W. fays (p. 23) "the King of Barbession was not willing to harrass his subjects, but was excited to send out pillaging
parties by constant intoxication; and that
it was generally every morning upon consubstitution agreed among the merchants that
this mode of prevailing on the King should
be taken."

Obs. That the merchants should hold a consultation every morning about making the King of Barbessin drunk, seems to have been a more formal proceeding than the case required. If the reader will turn to Dr. Spaarman's evidence, \* he will find that this purpose could be effected without any great persuasion or contrivance. At the same time it is remarkable that the Privy Council's Report of Mr. Wadstrom's evidence contains not one syllable about the King of Barbessin.

Mr. W. fays (p. 37) "he was never more than five or fix miles up the country, and might in the whole pass three weeks upon the continent. (p. 34, 35) The negroes have certainly an extraordinary genius for commerce, which can only be cultivated by fome good Europeans settling among them and thus introducing civilization. (p. 42) Mr. W. has a plan for such a settlement,

" but not any particular place or time in view.
" And (p. 44) trusts that Providence will open

means by which the expence of putting the

" plan into execution may be paid."

Obs. 1. No other witness nor any writer having mentioned this extraordinary genius of

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves.

the negroes for commerce, Mr. W. is intitled to the whole merit of the discovery. With respect to the colonization, Mr. W. is indeed supported by other witnesses. \* But whatever grounds they may have for their opinion, Mr. W.'s very limited knowledge of the country, and his very short residence in it, seem to have been scarcely sufficient to warrant him in forming any opinion upon the subject.

2. As to Mr. W.'s plan, it will be foon enough to confider of that when he proposes any place, time, or means of putting it into execution.

## CAPT. THOMAS WILSON of the Royal Navy.+

Capt. W. (p. 4) mentions kidnapping as one of the methods of procuring flaves, that it was "a matter of notoriety among the in"habitants of Goree, with whom he fre"quently conversed upon this subject, and
"always found them consistent."

<sup>\*</sup> See before, p. 150, 163. \* See also, p. 160.

Obs. Capt. W.'s evidence on this point is confirmed by Gen. Rooke (who adds, however, H. C. R. p. 58, that kidnapping was reckoned extremely difgraceful on the island of Goree) Dr. Spaarman and Mr. Dalrymple, to whose evidence I refer the reader.\*

As an instance that freemen are sometimes sold for real or imputed crimes, and for the profit of those who condemn them, Capt. W. says (p. 4) "that a man was brought to the government house on Goree, by two of the King of Damel's guards to be sold. The guards faid the King was to have the price; and upon being asked by Capt. W. if the man was guilty of the crime for which he was sold? answered with great shrewdness, he did not conceive that was ever inquired into or of any consequence."

Obs. Capt. W. related this fact to the Privy Council, and it appears that this man was condemned for having burnt a field of corn. But in the Pr. Co. Rep. the guards are stated to have said, "that they never inquire in such cases whether it was by accident or design, the man must be equally answerable." Pro-

<sup>&</sup>quot; See his evidence, ante, p. 199.

bably Capt. W. asked the guards, "if the man "did it on purpose?" which is by inference the same thing with the question here stated, since without bad intention there was no crime, although there was damage. But it is obvious that the answer as applied to the one question or the other, bears a very different meaning; for to condemn a man without inquiring whether he is guilty or not, is the height of injustice; but to fell a man for damage done, who is unable to make recompence any other way, is not a very unreasonable law in a country where slavery exists, even though the damage were accidental.

Capt. W. gives it as his opinion (p. 16)

"that the flave trade is evidently founded in

"injustice and treachery, manifestly carried

"on by oppression and cruelty, and not un
"frequently terminating in murder."

Obs. It is no part of my plan to discuss opinions which are expressly asked, and seem to be sincerely given. I shall therefore only observe, that Captain W. was not more than sive months on the African station; that as his inquiries were confined to the kingdom of Damel, \* his opinion (admitting it to be well-

<sup>\*</sup> Priv. Co. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves.

founded) cannot be applied to other parts of the coast; and that the trade of Damel has always been almost intirely in the hands of the French.

Capt. W. has been in most of the West India islands, and, for some months, at Jamaica, but never resided on shore. He says (p. 15.) that "He has seen slaves unsit for labour turned off to subsist on charity: he has conversed with and relieved them, and from his inquiries believes it to be a fact."

Obf. This was before the Confolidated Act of 1788, of which the 3d and 14th clauses feem well calculated to remedy this grievance, as far as it can be remedied: for I doubt not but unseeling masters will contrive fometimes to evade this law; and in Jamaica, as well as in this country, there will always be some miserable objects who prefer wandering and begging to being maintained either at home or in a workhouse.

Capt. W. fays (p. 15) that " He heard " from feveral respectable merchants in King-

- " fton, Jamaica, that they prefer importing
- " flaves rather than have the trouble of breed-
- " ing them; but never heard any opinion of
- " the refident planters on this head."

Obs. Consequently the planters are not affected by this evidence: and as to the merchants residing in towns, it must be so very inconvenient to them to have their domestics breed and rear children in their houses, that their entertaining such an opinion seems to be neither wonderful nor blameable. I take it for granted breeding women there are generally disposed of to the planters, as they are almost always discharged from samilies here.

## Mr. ISAAC WILSON, Surgeon in the Navy,

Made one voyage to the coast of Africa, and the River Plate, viz. in the Elizabeth of London, John Smith, master, failed in May, 1788, and returned in December, 1789.

Mr. W. fays (p. 561) "the flaves were as well treated as in any other ship."

Obs. I do not see how Mr. W. can possibly know that the slaves were not better treated in other ships: more successfully they certainly are, for sew ships lose so many as died on board the Elizabeth. It does not seem that

will alone insure the best possible treatment to the slaves: a knowledge of their manners and humours, of the best means of keeping up their spirits, and quieting any fears they may have of their future situation, appears to be almost essential to the preservation of their health and lives. There is no other way of accounting for the superior success which some masters of slave-ships have had over others.\* The Spanish merchants, by endeavouring to engage some of our masters and surgeons, + seem to be well aware of the importance of experience, and the difference of management.

Mr. W. being asked (p. 569) "if he believe the despondency of the slaves, arising from their situation, ever produces madness?" answers, "A man came on board apparently well, but shortly after looked pensive and melancholy, a certain degree of wildness appeared in his countenance; he began to eat his food voraciously, and at times re-

<sup>\*</sup> See the evidence of M. M. Norris, Heatley, Penny, and Bowen, P. C. Rep. part 2. and of M. M. Knox and Mackintosh at the bar of the H. C. June, 1789.

<sup>+</sup> See Pr. C. Rep. part 6. tit. Spain.

<sup>&</sup>quot; fuled

"fused it intirely; at length he became noisy, and frequently used the expression "Armourer" (the person who generally takes off the irons) and having disturbed the ship's company a considerable time, at last died insane."

- Obs. 1. This case seems to be meant as an affirmative answer to the question: yet it is very observable that Mr. W. does not give an express opinion that the man was sane when he came on board, or that his infanity was caused by despondency arising from his situation. Indeed the case is so vaguely stated, that I believe no medical man could form any opinion upon it: "Shortly after" may mean six hours or six days.
- 2. It is most natural to suppose that a Mind which had borne without disorder the first great change of a white for a black master, and of the sea for the land, would become every hour more resigned instead of more desperate.
- 3. Mr. W. should have informed the Committee, if melancholy often produces a noisy and voracious infanity; since (experience apart) one should rather expect the very opposite symptoms.

Pp

4. Upon the whole, the felling of a lunatic in a lucid interval feems to be no unlikely trick in the trade, and from the circumstances of the case it is highly probable that it was practised in this instance.

Mr. W. fays (p. 570) "we generally found more females than males."

Obs. As it does not appear that Mr. W. kept any account of the slaves offered for sale, approved or rejected, he can speak only from recollection, or rather loose conjecture: if therefore Mr. W. means that more saleable semales (such as were capable of child-bearing) were generally found than males, I doubt the fact for the reasons assigned in page 68.

Mr. W. fays (p. 562) "that of 602 flaves "fhipped on board the Elizabeth, there died "of the flux 155. That the disease and death of two-thirds of this number might be reasonably ascribed to their melancholy as the primary cause:" (and p. 575) the fymptoms of this melancholy are lowness of spirits and despondency; refusing their proper nourishment still increases these fymptoms; at length the stomach gets "weak"

"weak and incapable of digestion; fluxes

" and dysenteries ensue; and from the weak

" and debilitated state of the patient, it soon

" carries him off."

Obs. 1. Yet Mr. W. admits (p. 575) "that the health of the flaves had been visibly affected by being kept below deck in confequence of some distress of the ship. (p. 579) that he has never heard melancholy ascribed by physicians or medical writers as a cause of dysentery." And lastly (but with some reluctance) "that melancholy is generally held by physicians to produce a costive habit."

I own myself incompetent to pronounce upon the merit of Mr. W.'s theory, but it seems to be much invalidated by his admission of the above facts.

2. Medical theories are in general so doubtful and fallacious, that the only sure criterion of any such theory is an uniform, or at least a very frequent experience of the same effects produced by the same causes; which experience is in the case before us most obviously deficient. For although the Elizabeth lost so large a proportion of its cargo, yet other P p 2

ships in a passage of equal length, \* and from the same part of the coast lose comparatively sew, and some scarce any. † It sollows, therefore, either that the slaves on board these healthy ships were preserved by superior address or attention from the melancholy described by Mr. W. or, if they were insected with it, it did not produce the dysentery, in which case Mr. W.'s theory falls to the ground. So that whether Mr. W.'s mode of accounting for the loss on board the Elizabeth be well or ill sounded, there is not the slightest pretence for extending his doctrine to the trade in general, or indeed to any other ship than his own.

\* If there be any difference, unfavourable to the health of the flaves, between the passage from Bonny to the River Plate, and to the West Indies, then of course Mr. Wilson's evidence is wholly inapplicable to the British slave-trade.

upon the mobil of Mr. Wr's theory, bushit

of the Assembly of Jamaica, section 4, printed in the H. C. Rep. 1st April, 1790, p. 485. See also the evidence of Mr. King, H. C. Rep. p. 235, 236, and of Mr. Fraser, H. C. Rep. p. 36, 37.

### Mr. THOMAS WOOLRICH

only that small smissions and that That who

Resided chiefly in the island of Tortola from 1753 to 1773. But has been at Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Christopher.

Mr. W. fays (p. 265) "he had multitudes "of opportunities of feeing the field flaves, as "he lived at a fugar planter's the first fix or feven years. (P. 268) he never faw a "gang of negroes that appeared any thing "like sufficiently fed; neither in Tortola "nor in the other islands which he occa- fionally visited."

2. With respect to the appearance of the negroes in the other islands, I refer the Reader to the evidence stated p. 174 (in the note); possibly Mr. W. might be in those islands at the time of some particular distress.

Obs. 1. With respect to their appearance in Tortola, Mr. W. himself states a variety of circumstances which, in great measure, accounts for it without any fault of the planters. For it appears from many parts of his evidence, that this island could, in his time, hardly be said to be cultivated or settled. (p. 278) There were so few houses in the only

only town, that the merchants and storekeepers generally returned in the fame thips in which they came, two or three only resided in the town, and he himself kept his stores at a planter's house six miles up the country. There were fome cotton plantations in the poor and rocky parts of the island, but not above ten or a dozen fugar estates. Mr. W. adds (p. 267) "Droughts are common, and " fometimes cause a scarcity, and almost a fa-"mine; I have known the negroes pine "away and die for want of food, which " could not be any way procured. And (p. 289) " there was never any certain fupply of pro-" visions at all times of the year; there was " more frequently no necessary food for the " negroes to be bought at the merchants " ffores."

Such is Mr. W.'s description of Tortola, where the Masters must have fared hardly, and the Negroes of course still worse. Such inconveniences are incidental to most infant settlements; they arise not from the mismanagement of the settlers, but from the nature of their undertaking.

Mr. W. fays (p. 276) "It is certainly the master's interest to treat his slaves well; I believe it is for want of wisdom that they

" are treated ill. And (p. 277) " I fully

" believe that the circumstances of the owners

"have a great effect; where they are much

" in debt the flaves are worse used."

Obs. There is an apparent inconsistency in Mr. W.'s opinions, since want of intelligence and want of means are different things. However I agree with Mr. W. that a distressed master will probably distress his slaves; although Mr. W. forgets that when "a scar-" city almost to famine is caused by long "drought, and no necessary food is to be bought at the merchants stores," it matters but little whether the owner's circumstances be good or bad.

Mr. W. fays (p. 279) "when he first went to Tortola, there were not above ten or twelve sugar estates on the island. (And p. 265, 266) the planters were in good cre-dit, and not one of them indebted in Ensighand. But about three or sour years after fome slave-ships came down; and the planters, having bought slaves, turned out their cotton, and planted canes; (and, p. 280) clearing out small parts of wood-land from year to year, to enlarge the old and make new sugar plantations. (And p. 266) that the planting of sugar is more laborious to the sugar plantation of sugar is more laborious to the sugar plantation of sugar is more laborious to the sugar plantation.

"flaves, and in some instances more profitable"
to the owners; but in general it proved
"otherwise. For they lost many slaves in
"the seasoning, and became involved by
"purchasing more upon credit: (so that
"(p. 276) the planters are now in distressed
"circumstances and low credit."

Obs. 1. One point established by this evidence is, that borrowing money to buy flaves in order to convert wood-land into cane-land in a new fettlement, is generally an unprofitable speculation: which I believe no man will at this day dispute. But I do not see how this fact can be applied to the justifying an Abolition of the flave-trade, unless indeed it be intended to argue that, "Because planters se generally lofe by buying flaves to clear " land for fugar in a new-fettled island; "therefore, planters, who buy flaves to re-" pair any extraordinary mortality by hurrise canes, drought, or epidemical diseases in the " old-fettled islands, must be losers too; and se that confequently the legislature would only " act the part of a prudent guardian in prohi-" biting this ruinous traffic." But the cases are by no means parallel. For it is obvious that the probability of the loss of slaves must be much greater in clearing wood-land (the most

most laborious of all work) with a gang, confifting perhaps of two-thirds newly imported negroes; than in a well-ordered plantation, where a feafoned-gang is occasionally recruited by purchases of only five or fix per cent. on the number of the whole flock. \*

Another point proved by the above evidence is, that cotton is cultivated with far less labour than fugar, which is most certainly true: but how is this fecond fact to be applied? Will it be faid that in compassion to the negroes the cultivation of cotton ought to be encouraged, that of fugar discouraged. and the abolition adopted as the furest method of effecting both these purposes? I do agree that the abolition will immediately lessen, and may finally suppress the cultivation of sugar, but not that it would to any confiderable degree extend the cultivation of cotton. For no man cultivates without the prospect of a certain market and a reasonable profit. But the price of West Indian cotton has fallen nearly 40 per cent. from 1787 to 1790; + and

<sup>\*</sup> See before, p. 131 & feq.

<sup>+</sup> For the truth of this affertion I may venture to appeal to any West Indian merchant in London. But

if much cane-land should be converted into cotton-grounds, the increasing quantity will fink the price more and more, and, perhaps, at length exceed the demand, to the utter ruin of the grower, and all who are connected with him. For it is to be remembered that cotton is not, as fugar is become, one of the necessaries of life: and in spite of the inventive spirit of our cotton manufacturers, Fancy and Fashion may in the course of a few years revert to the general use of wool, filk, or linen. Besides, if we plant colonies in Africa, the most promising undertaking for them seems to be the raifing of cotton: \* and furely it is too much to expect that we shall be able to indemnify ourselves for the loss of the slavetrade in Africa, and the fugar-trade in the West Indies, by encouraging the further growth of cotton in both those countries at once; without being certain that the present confumption will continue, and much less that it will increase in proportion to the increased fupply.

my affertion is confined to Barbadoes, Tobago, Monserrat, St. Christopher, Grenada, and Jamaica.—
The Bahama Islands having no sugar plantations nor share in the slave-trade, are out of the question.

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Devaynes's evidence, ante, p. 55 & feq.

Obs. 2. Mr. W. is so strongly possessed with the idea, that the distress of the planters in Tortola is wholly owing to their having bought slaves for the cultivation of sugar instead of cotton, that he overlooks the very material circumstance of the American war, which gave a severe shock to all West Indian credit, and left but sew planters unembarrassed. At that time of general distress it is not probable that Tortola, a new settlement, suffered less than the other islands.

Mr. W. fays (p. 271) "the field negroes turn out to work at day-light; they have time to take their food in the morning and at noon; when they are discharged from their labour, they have grass to pick, generally until it is dark. That if picking grass is reckoned as part of their day labour, it lengthens the day; if as an addition to their day's work, it is a great hardship."

Obs. I perceive here a great desire in Mr. W. to prove this grass-picking to be a hardship. But after all, a day's work can be no more than a day's work, nor can day-light in the islands last longer than about twelve hours and a half: our of which there is time allowed for a morning and noon meal.

Qq2

Mr. W. fays (p. 287) he kept a horse in Tortola, and many other merchants did the same. That out of crop time these horses were supplied with grass bought of the negroes, who used to bring it down in the evening to sell for their own profit. That this grass for one horse cost about eleven-pence sterling a day.

Obs. From this account it should seem that grass-picking is not so great a hardship as Mr. W. just before represented it to be: for the negroes are certainly as able to pick grass for their masters horses as for other people's. Nor has that day labourer much to complain of, who can occasionally (suppose only once or twice a week) earn eleven pence by his labour after his day's work.

Mr. W. fays (p. 265) "at his first going to Tortola, he heard the planters signify that their negroes increased by birth without importation, and that there was reckoned a general increase upon the whole through the island." Yet he says (p. 267) " it is difficult for me to judge if during the last period of my stay, the negroes increased by birth; but they did not increase in that period.

" riod in proportion to what they did at his first coming."

Obs. A man should have some positive data before he can form a comparison. But Mr. W. has no such data. For he does not pretend to know either the whole number of the negroes, or in what proportion they increased either by birth or importation, at any period of his stay; how then can he venture to say that they increased in a greater proportion during the sirst period of his stay than during the last?

Mr. W. fays (p. 270) "he knows of no " protection the negroes have against the " masters ill usage: and mentions three inse stances of slaves killed by their masters or " overfeers, who were neither punished nor " difgraced." (p. 290) Mentions also an instance of " a white man killed by another, " who was tried by a special commission sent " down, (I presume from St. Christopher) " the inhabitants not having fufficient autho-" rity to try him without fuch a commif-" fion. (p. 281) There was not the same " fettled administration of justice in Tortola " which prevailed in the other islands." Although Mr. W. fays immediately after, "juf-" tice . " tice was administered in the island during

" the whole of his refidence, in as regular

" order as he judges it was in any of the

" other iflands."

Obs. There is an apparent contradiction in the latter part of this evidence; but as it relates only to Mr. W.'s opinion as to the administration of justice, it is not material. The facts which precede that opinion are more to the purpose.

During the time of Mr. W.'s residence in Tortola, there were probably never more than 4000 slaves on the island, and perhaps not so many: yet out of this number there are said to have been three murdered with impunity. All the other islands taken together, do not afford three more instances; and yet a spirit of inquiry into such offences has not been wanting. One need no surther proof of the unsettled and lawless state of Tortola; and that whatever irregularities or crimes were committed there in Mr. W.'s time, they cannot serve as examples of the laws and practices of the other islands.

### SIR GEORGE YOUNG\*

Says (p. 206) " two instances of kidnap-

- " ping fell in his way. One a child which
- " the blacks who offered it for fale, faid
- " they had panyared the night before. The
- " other was a complaint made by a black
- " trader at Sierra Leone, that the Captain of
- " a Liverpool ship had panyared a girl, which
- " was lent him as a mistress during his stay
- " there. The term " panyar" is generally
- " used all along the coast."

Obs. 1. The black trader's complaint might not be well founded; for the girl was perhaps left with him as both mistress and pawn, and might be taken away as a forfeited pawn.

2. For the use of the word "panyar" I re-

fer the reader to page 82.

Sir G. Y. fays (p. 211) "very bad effects

- " may be ascribed to the proprietors of the
- " plantations being absent; and to the estates
- " and flaves being under the direction of ma-
- " nagers."

Obs. Probably the flaves would be benefited by the masters residence among them in most cases, but not in all. If however it should finally be proved to the fatisfaction of the legislature-1. That the slaves are now generally treated with inhumanity and unnecessary severity. 2. That the residence of the masters offers the only probable method of redreffing the grievance. And lastly, that it is confistent with the principles of the British constitution to compel any of its subjects to refide where their property lies;—then let Parhament pass an act enjoining such residence to the planters under certain penalties, openly and expressly, instead of resorting to oblique and underhand means of compulsion. This would not only be more honourable, but more consistent and effectual: for it is far from certain that the Abolition Act would produce the effect of driving the planters refident here to their estates in the West Indies: and even if it should, it is infifted by them and does not feem to be improbable, that the stopping all supplies from Africa would put it out of their power to relieve their negroes by leffening their labour; so far otherwise, that the losses by annual

annual deaths must unavoidably throw an increase of labour on the survivors for many years, viz. until such losses should be recruited by an equal number of children reared; a speculation at best slow in its progress, and of very doubtful event.

Sir G. Y. fays (p. 211) "all I ever under"flood was, that the purchasing slaves was
"much the cheapest method of keeping up
"their numbers, for that the mother of a
"bred slave was taken from the field labour
"for three years, which labour was of more
"value than the cost of a prime slave or new
"negro."

- Obs. 1. This opinion of the planters has been already considered.\* But with respect to this particular estimate stated by the planters to Sir G. Y. I observe,
- 1. Since Sir G. Y. was in Jamaica, viz. in 1768, the price of prime flaves is faid (and I believe, allowed) to have risen from 40l. to 50l. sterling, which alone would make a wide difference in the calculation, independent of any other objections.

\* Ante, p. 187 & feq.

- 2. There seems to be no reason, that a woman on producing a child should give up for so long a space as three years any labour to which she had been inured: it is not the custom of any country we ever heard of.
- 3. It follows from the above estimate, that if the breeding women are not released from all field labour during three years for every child, then purchasing is not the cheapest method of keeping up their numbers: but if they are so released, there can surely be no ground for charging the planters with over-working the breeding women, and not allowing them sufficient indulgence.

Sir G. Y. (p. 213) "thinks that the stock of slaves might be kept up or increased

" without importations from Africa. At first

" indeed the deficiencies would be felt, per-

" haps for about 20 years; but after a while

" they would double their numbers; and he

" fees no physical cause to prevent a black

" man and woman in the West Indies being

" equally prolific as they are in Africa. And

" (p. 218) Sir G. Y. fixes the period of 20

" years, from the circumstance of the Ame-

" ricans doubling their numbers in less than "twenty years." To somoupolinos oils so

Obs. r. For the causes and probable extent of the deficiencies, I refer my reader to p. 122, and the notes in p. 122, 181, and 182. He may then judge if it can be hoped that they should ever be made good by births alone, to be produced from a flock liable to fuch fudden and extraordinary diminution. And as to the effects of thefe deficiencies; the planters of Effequebo and Demerary in their petition to the States General, \* observe that " the annual diminution is generally " calculated at 5 per cent. This is little " felt the first year, nineteen remaining ne-" groes hardly perceive that they do the " work which the preceding year employed " twenty. But the fecond year the same " work falls to the share of eighteen : and " if another year passes without an aug-" mentation by purchase, seventeen must do "the work of twenty. This must give rife " to discontent, desertion or revolt; or if " the negroes patiently bear this furcharge

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<sup>\*</sup> Pr. C. Rep. part 6. tit. Holland.

- " of labour, illness and an earlier death must
- " be the consequence; or the planters must
- " contract their cultivation and of course di-
- "minish the produce." This reasoning is plain and forcible, and seems applicable, in a great degree, to every other sugar colony.
- 2. That the negroes are not as prolific in the West Indies as in Africa, is not imputed to physical but to moral causes, particularly to the early debauchery of the women and their promiscuous commerce. \* No doubt but their passions are equally ardent in Africa; but the power of the husband to punish by slavery to the Europeans, or even death, impust be a strong check upon criminal indulgence.
- 3. America, on account of its foil, climate, extent and various produce, can ferve as no

\* Ante, p. 126.

example

Admiral Edwards fays—on the Gold Coast adultery is a crime for which the natives are most usually fold. The person injured has a claim upon the adulterer's property and family. He once saw the heads of seven of the wives of a chief at Annamaboe upon a drum, which had been cut off for adultery, Pr. C. Rep. part 1. tit. Slaves.

example for the West Indies. Besides, whatever has been the increase of population in America, \* it cannot be attributed to births alone, but to a frequent influx of emigrants from different countries. But the object of the Abolition Bill is to prevent as far as possible all increase by importation, and to trust intirely to breeding.

### POSTSCRIPT.

I fear my readers will think the great length of these observations, but too good a reason for my not intending to continue them, upon any farther evidence which may be produced. Indeed, unless such evidence should be called for the express purpose of falsisying the witnesses who have been already examined (and I have heard there is no such design) it cannot be expected to vary the present state of the question.

The subject has been long and laboriously investigated: and a few more instances of kidnapping or fair-dealing in Africa, of extraordinary mortality or healthiness in the passage, of unreasonable severity or remarkable humanity in the islands, will neither add to, nor materially affect the general principles, causes, or probable effects of the proposed Abolition of the slave trade.

POSTSCRIPT.

I fear the readers will think the great length of the fear observations, but too good a readent for my not intending to continue them, so which may be produced an each ladead, onless then evidence thank it is eight of the express them evidence thank in the winness who have been already examined (and I have bear there is no such design) it cannot be expected to vary the present state.

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# FINIS.

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TE L A I.

Title Page to Vol. I. with a beautiful Vignette, composed of the Wreck of a Ship.

SUBJECT OF PLATE IL

Frontispiece to Vol. I. Robinson Crusoe taking leave of his Father and

"My father was a wife and grave man; gave me ferious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and exportulated very warmly with me upon this subject." See page 2

SUBJECT OF PLATE III.

Robinson Crusoe shipwrecked and clinging to a rock.
"I recovered a little before the return of the wave; and seeing I should be covered again with the water, I refolved to hold fast by the piece of the rock. See page 56.

SUBJECT OF PLATE IV.

Robinson Crusoe upon his raft.

" Having plundered the ship of what was portable and fit to hand out, I began with the cables; and cutting the great cable in pieces, fuch as I could move, I got two cables and a hawfer on shore, with all the iron-work I could get; and having cut down the fprit-fail yard, and the mizen-yard, and every thing I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all the heavy goods, and came away." See page 69.

SUBJECT OF PLATE V.

Robinson Crusoe at work in his cave.

" I made abundance of things even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which, perhaps, were never made before, and that with infinite labour." See page 84.
SUBJECT OF PLATE VI.

Robinson Crusoe discovers the print of a man's foot.

" I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's raked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunderfiruck, or as if I had feen an apparition; I liftened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor fee any thing." See page 194.

SUBJECT OF PLATE VII.

Robinson Crusoe first sees and rescues his man Friday.

" Having knocked this fellow down, the other who purfued him stopped, as if he had been frightened: and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived prefently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me; so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot." See page 256.
SUBJECT OF PLATE VIII.

Robinson Crusoe and Friday making a boat.

" I shewed him how to cut it out with tools, which, after I had shewed him how to use, he did very readily; and, in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome." See page 287.

SUBJECT OF PLATE IX.

Robinson Crusoe and Friday making a tent to lodge Friday's father and the

Spaniard.

" Friday and I carried them up both together between us; but, when we got to the outfide of our wall or fortification, we were at a worse loss than before, for it was impossible to get them over; and I was resolved not to break it down, so I set to work again, and Friday and I, in about two hours time, made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and above that with boughs of trees." See p. 304.

PLATE

#### PLATES IN ROBINSON CRUSOE.

PLATE X.

Title to Vol. II. with a beautiful Vignette, compoled of Robinton Crusoe's Implements of Hufbandry

SUBJECT OF PLATE XI.

Frontispiece-Robinson Crusoe's first Interview with the Spaniards on his

fecond Landing,

" First he turned to me, and pointing to them said, These, Sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been failors, and ordinary fellows, and I the like, but really as if they had been Ambassadors or Noblemen, and I a Monarch or a great Conqueror." See page 42.

SUBJECT OF PLATE XII.

The Plantation of the Two Englishmen. " The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their hut, that when you came to the place nothing was to be feen but a wood; and though they had the plantation twice demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shewn in its place; yet they had restored all again, and every thing was flourishing and thriving about them. page 90.

SUBJECT OF PLATE XIII.

The two Englishmen retreating with their wives and children.

" Now, having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the flaves which were left, and cause two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, who, it feems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods." See page 96.

SUBJECT OF PLATE XIV.

The Spaniards and Englishmen burning the Indians boats.

wood together from a dead tree, they tried to fet some of them on fire, but they were so wet that they would scarce burn; however, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats." See page 113. "They went to work immediately with the boats; and getting some dry

SUBJECT OF PLATE XV.

Robinson Crusoe distributing Tools of Husbandry among the Inhabitants. " I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a diggingsubject of PLATE XVI.

A View of the Plantation of the three Englishmen.

"Upon this he faced about just before me, as he walked along, and putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow; I most heartily thank God and you, Sir, fays he, for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work." See page 151.

PLATE XVII.

Head of De Foe to face the Title of the Life.

\* \* That those Ladies and Gentlemen who have not had an opportunity of feeing this Work, may form fome idea of the execution and elegance of the Engravings, Mr. STOCK-DALE affures them it has cost him near Seventeen Hundred Pounds.